

P R É C I S .

Abū'l-Faḡl Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, the author of the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, was born in the year 385 A.H. (995) or 386 A.H. (996), and died in Ṣafar, 470 A.H. (August, 1077). Among his contemporaries included several great men both in the field of literature and otherwise. His main work, the history of Sultan Mas'ūd^{the},/son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, is perhaps the only history of its kind which draws entirely first upon the first-hand, and then upon the eye-witness, information. So far there has been known in Europe and India only one edition of this book, i.e., the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta; but there is another, and a more complete, edition of it, namely the Tehran ed. 1307 A.H. (1889-90). The real title of this history is unknown, various authors calling it by different names. The greater part of the existing portion was composed during the years 450 - 451 A.H. (1058-1060), though a beginning was made in 448 A.H. (1056-7). The extant part comprises only Vols V and X, in part, and VI and VII to IX in full. It is generally said that this history started from the beginning of the Ghaznawid dynasty, but internal evidence shows that

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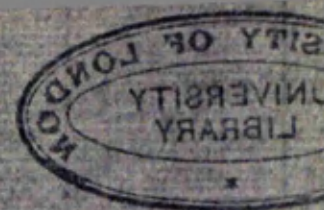
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began with the year 409 A.H. (1018-19) perhaps in continuation of 'Uḡbī's Tārīkh i Yamīnī which is brought down to the year 409 or 410 (1018-19 or 1019-20). The period covered by the extant portion extends from Zū'l-Hijjah, 421 A.H. (November 1030) to 15th, Shā'bān, 432 A.H. (21st April, 1041); while the period dealt with in the whole including the lost parts may be summed up, though with no scrupulous exactitude, with the years 409 A.H. and 444 A.H. (1018-19 and 1053).



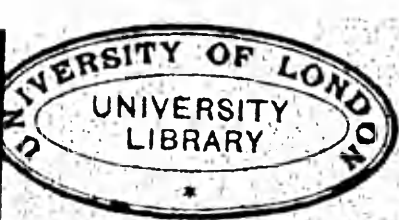


A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE

TĀRIKH I BAYHAQĪ.

By

S. MUHAMMAD SIDDĪQ.



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P R E F A C E.

The present contribution is an attempt to throw some light on the life of the author of the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī, and the value of the book as a history of the Ghaznawids in general, and that of Mas'ūd in particular, and to remove certain misunderstandings which have so far prevailed about the extent of the period covered by this unique history.

I have divided the whole of my work in this connection into five chapters, viz., (1) an introduction giving the life of the author, a description of his times and the names of his illustrious contemporaries, the salient features of the book, and internal evidence and quotations from other histories to limit the period dealt with in it which has been unduly exaggerated by other writers. Of course, I have not been able to prove conclusively that the history of Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī covers a period extending from the year 409 A.H. (1018-19) to the year 448 A.H. (1056-7) — a task which might be deferred until an earlier MS. might be discovered —

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PREFACE

The present contribution is an attempt to throw some light on the life of the author of the Tarikh-i-Nasiri and the value of the book as a history of the Ghaznawids in general, and that of Mas'ud in particular, and to remove certain misunderstandings which have so far prevailed about the extent of the period covered by this unique history.

I have divided the whole of my work in this connection into five chapters, viz., (i) an introduction giving the life of the author, a description of his times and the names of his illustrious contemporaries, the salient features of the book, and internal evidence and quotations from other historians to limit the period dealt with in it which has been widely exaggerated by other writers. Of course, I have not been able to prove conclusively that the history of Mas'ud-Nasiri covers a period extending from the year 409 A.H. (1018-19) to the year 485 A.H. (1092-93) — a task which might be deferred until an earlier MS. might be discovered —

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still I have shown, both with internal and external evidence, especially the former, that this history did not commence with the beginning of the dynasty but from the year 409 A.H. (1018-19), though unfortunately the last year dealt with in the lost portion relating to the post-Nas'ūdid period could not be fixed with any exactness. I have also tried, and with a greater success, to define the number of volumes contained in the existing portion entirely on the strength of internal evidence. I was, again, fortunate enough to have been lent by Aghā Muḥammad Miṇū'ī of the Persian Legation in London, almost at the eleventh hour, when I had nearly finished my work, a copy of the Tehran edition of the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī by which I was in a position to fill up the gaps in the Bibliotheca Indica edition.

Chap. II. A list of the chapters, which includes both those marked in the book and those not marked in the book. The division which I have supplied might appear rather pedantic, but in the case of a book like the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī with all the defects of an Oriental publication of the past, where, not to speak of paragraphs, even important chapters are not marked separately I have tried to mitigate the difficulties of the reader who might consult this detailed history for the events

of a particular person or a year or the details of state documents, especially so when it is full of illustrative anecdotes and verses.

1.

Chap. III. Addenda and Corrigenda. Here I have made it a point not to miss even the most ordinary printing mistakes which perhaps might be quite legible in the earlier copies of this edition, and as I had to use, at different times, two copies of the same edition, i.e., the one in the School of the Oriental Studies and the other in the India Office, I have done my best to include all the possible mistakes, and in this case I have erred on the side of excess rather than on that of defect. Still, I have not been able to correct certain proper names, though I am glad the number of such names is, fortunately, not very great.

2.

Chap. IV. A glossary of rare words or common words used in rare sense.

3.

Chap. V. The Index: this I have divided into two parts, viz., (a) names of persons, (b) names of places.

1., 2., and 3. These three chapters have not been submitted with the thesis in type.

The system of transliteration adopted in this compilation has been shown on a separate page . A list of the abbreviations used in footnotes has also been given independently of the Bibliography.

Throughout the Introduction, I have called the present history of Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī the Tārīkh i Mas' (T.M.), and not the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī (T.B.), the title given to it in the Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta (the edition which I have used almost exclusively except where stated otherwise), mainly for two reasons; viz., first, the present book relates the history of Mas'ūd, and perhaps there could be no better title than the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, especially when the lost portion of Bayhaqī's history dealing with Sultan Maḥmūd (Yamīn al-Daulah) is referred to by the author himself as the Tārīkh i Yamīnī, and thus I have called the whole work including the lost portion relating to both the pre- and post-Mas'ūdī periods the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī; secondly, I had to quote the Tārīkh i Bayhaq (T.B.) of Zāhir al-Dīn Bayhaqī, and in order to avoid the confusion arising by adopting the same abbreviation for two different works, I preferred the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī.

Lastly, my thanks are due to my learned Professor Sir E. Denison Ross, Ph.D., C.I.E., without whose assistance the present work would never have seen the dawn of completion, and also to Sir Thomas W. Arnold and Mr. H. R. Gibb for the help they were kind enough to give me from time to time.

The system of transliteration adopted in the preparation of this work is as follows:-

a	آ
t	ت
s	ث
h	ح
kh	خ
z	ذ
s	س
s	س
sh	ش
s	ص
z	ض
t	ط
z	ظ
a	ع
gh	ع
q	ق
u; w	و
i; y	ي

LIST of ABBREVIATIONS used in FOOTNOTES.

A.K.: Ātash-Kadah by Luṭf 'Alī Beg, Āzar.

Ahlwardt: Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin.

Āḡār: Āḡār al-Wuzarā' by Sayf al-Dīn.

Badāyūnī: Muntakhab al-tawārīkh.

Brockleemann: Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur.

Brown: A Literary History of Persia.

D.M.: Diwān i Minūshihri.

D.N.Kh.: Diwān i Nāṣir i Khusrāu.

Dozy: See Bibliography.

Elliot: History of India.

Fakhrī: Kitāb al-Fakhrī by Ibn Tīqṭaqā.

F.N.: Farhang i Nāṣiri by Rīṣā Qulī Khān.

H.T.: History of Ṭabaristān by Ibn Isfandyār.

al-Jahshiyārī: Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb by ṬaqīxKhān.

Jāmi': Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh by Rashīd al-Dīn.

J.O.R.A.S.: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

~~K.A.:~~ ~~Khulāṣat al-Afkār by Taḥṣīlī.~~

K.A.T.Q.: Khulāṣat al-ash'ar wa-zubdat al-afkār by Taqī Kāshī.

Kāmil: Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh by Ibn al-Aṣīr.

Kh. Kh.: Kitāb Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ by al-Ṣa'ālībī.

K.M.: ^{Kāshī}
~~Khāṣṣ~~ al-Mahjūb by al-Hujwīrī.

K.Z.: Kāshf al-Zunūn by Ḥājji Khālfah.

M.D.: Muḥammadan Dynasties by Lane-Poole.

M.F.: Majma' al-Fuṣṣṣā' by Rīṣā Qulī Khān.

M.O.J.: Memoirs of Jahāngīr.

Murūj: Murūj al-Zahab by Mas ūdī.

Nicholson: A Literary History of the Arabs.

Nizām: Introduction to Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt wa-Lawā' al-Riwāyāt by — .

N.N.A.: Nushat Nāmah i 'Alā'ī by Shah Mardān.

N.U.: ^N
~~Nafḥat~~ al-Uns by Jāmī.

- Q.N.: Qābūs Nāmah by Kaykā'ūs ibn Qābūs ibn Washmgīr.
- Reverty: The English translation of Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣi.
- Rieu: The Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum.
- R. Sh.: Riyāz al-Shu'ara' by Wālah i Dāghistānī.
- Safadī: Tārīkh duwal al-Islām by — .
- Schefer: See Bibliography.
- Shahrestānī: Kitāb al-milal wa'l-nihāl by — .
- S.N.N.Kh.: Safar Nāmah i Nāṣir i Khusrāu.
- S.N.N.M.: Siyāsat Nāmah by Nizām al-Mulk.
- Sykes: History of Persia.
- Ṭabarī: Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk.
- T.B.: Tārīkh i Bayhaq by Zahir al-Din Bayhaqī.
- T.G.: Tārīkh i Gusīdah by Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazwīnī.
- T.H.: Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥukamā by al-Qiftī.
- T.J.J.: Tārīkh i Jahan-gushāy i Juwaynī.
- T.M.: Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī (the History of Mas ūd).
- T.M. Tehrān: Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, Tehrān edition.

T. Muḥammadi: Tārīkh i Muḥammadi by Bihmād Khānī.

T.N.: Tabaqat i Nāṣiri by Minhāj i Sirāj.

T.Y.: Tārīkh i Yamīnī.

Y.D.: Yalīmat al-Dahr by al-Ṣaʿalibī.

Zahabī: Tārīkh duwal al-Islām by — .

Z.T.: Zubdat al-Tawārīkh.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TĀRIKH I MAS' ŪDĪ.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS TIMES.

The Author — Birth, Death, Profession — His Contemporaries — Those mentioned in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī — Those not mentioned in it — Poets, Prose-writers, Sultans, Princes and Rulers — The Rise of the House of Ghaznah — The Ziyārid and Buwayhid and other Dynasties — The Saljuqs — The Caliphs of Baghdād.

**The Author
and His
Times.**

Shaiikh Abū'l-Faḡl Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib al-Bayhaqī, the author of the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī*, was born^{1.} in a village near Bayhaq called *Ḥārīgābād*. Of his early life and career there is no trace either in his own work or those of contemporary or later writers. Of his youth and old age we have rudimentary notices scattered here and there in the course of the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī* which have been summarised in the index. Save these autobiographical allusions which the author was reluctant to deal with at some length out of fear of the ridicule of the readers^{2.} there is only one book by his fellow-townsmen, Zahir al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Bayhaqī, the author of the *Tārīkh i Bayhaq* (B.M. MS. Or. 3587), a collection of the lives of some hundreds of the author's fellow-townsmen, which gives some account of our author, and it is entirely upon this work that I have drawn for the biography of Abū'l-Faḡl.

**Date of
Birth.**

The *Tārīkh i Bayhaq* does not give the date of birth of Abū'l-Faḡl. But, fortunately, we can arrive

1. T.B., fol. 101b.

2. T.M., p. 755; Bayhaqī abhors autobiographical allusions and does not want to be ridiculed by the people of the reigns of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd and the readers; he mocks at Sūfī, the author of a history of the Abbasides called the *Aurāq*, who frequently mentions himself, his verses and their appreciation by the Minister of 'Alī Raḡsh(?)

at a definite conclusion from two allusions made by Abū'l-Faḡl himself. In the chapter on the execution of Ḥasanak, the Minister of Maḥmūd, after the downfall of Khwājah Ahmad Hasan Maymandī¹, writing in the year 450 A.H. (1058-59), the author says, "as I have grown sixty-five years old"², a statement which gives 385 A.H. (995) as the year in which he was born. In the year 402 A.H. (1011-12), when Khwājah Bū 'Alī Mink'īl, was³ allowed by Maḥmūd to take his daughter, the bride of Minūghīhr ibn Qābūs, to Gurgān, and ordered to reward the Tābānīs in Nishāpūr on his way, our author was sixteen years old and describes in brief the extravagant decorations in the city of Nishāpūr such as he never saw in his life. This places his birth in the year 386 A.H. (996). In another place he says that he was fifteen years old in 400 A.H.⁴ (1009-1010). This would agree with the first mentioned year, i.e., 385 A.H. (995).

1. The name of Ḥasanak was Amīr Ḥasan and he was called Ḥasanak Waḡīr (T.M., Tehrān, p. 2).

2. T.M., p. 207.

3. Ibid., pp. 245-246. Bayhaqī says Burrah only and in other places he mentioned two other Burrahs, i.e., Khatlī (pp. 12, 18, 80, 136, 310, 801), and Zaynab (pp. 230, 655, 656); but neither is ment here, because the former was the sister of Maḥmūd (T.M., p. 12), and, as we learn from Ibn Isfandiyār (H.T., translation, p. 23 text, fol. 150b), the bride of Minūghīhr was the daughter of Maḥmūd; and the latter, i.e., Zaynab, was betrothed to Buḡhrā Khān, son of Qadīr Khān, the ruler of Turkīstān (T.M., p. 230).

4. Ibid., pp. 443-4.

**Date of
Death.**

But for the date of death we need not draw such conclusions, as the author of the *Tārīkh i Bayhaq* explicitly mentions it as *Ṣāfar*, 470 A.H. (August, 1077),^{1.} from which we can safely assume that at the time of his death *Abū'l-Faḡl* was eighty-five years old, and which is also mentioned in *Mujmal of Faṣṭhī*.^{2.}

**His Pro-
fession.**

Abū'l-Faḡl was a scribe under *Bū Naṣr ibn Muḥḥān* (the Chief Secretary to *Mahmūd* and *Mas'ūd*) during the reigns of *Mahmūd*, *Mas'ūd*, *Maudūd*, and *Farrukh-zād*,^{3.} and *Ṣāhib i Dīwān i Risālat* (Chief Secretary) during the reign of *'Abd al-Rashīd*.^{4.} Rieu says (*Pers.MS. Cat.*, I, 150b) that he must have been re-appointed during the reign of *Ibrāhīm* as he complains of unemployment (p.823) in the year 451 A.H. But this assumption is based upon a careless reading of the text, as the person of whose unemployment the author speaks here is not himself but *Khawājah Mas'ūd* who is called in some other places *Bū'l-Faḡh Mas'ūd* (p. 820), *Bū'l-Faḡh Lays* (p. 790), *Mas ūd Muhammad Lays* (p. 613), or *Mas'ūd Lays* (p.789), and who was the son-in-law of *Khawājah Ahmad*

1. T.B., fol. 103a.

2. Rieu, Vol. I, p. 159; the MS. of *Mujmal* is not available, either in the British Museum or India Office.

3. T.B., fol. 101b.

4. T.M., pp. 122, 754.

but for the date of death we need not draw such
conclusions, as the author of the *Kitab* I have ex-
amined mentions it as before, 470 A.H. (August, 1077).
From which we can safely assume that at the time of
his death (481-482) was eighty-five years old, and
which is also mentioned in *Kitab* of *Kitab*.

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Abd al-Fazl was a scholar under 55 years of age
(the Chief Secretary to Mahmud and Nasir) during the
reign of Mahmud, Nasir, and Tughlaq, and
beginning of the reign of (Chief Secretary) during the
reign of Abd al-Fazl. Also says (Pers. MS. Cat.
I, 1806) that he must have been re-appointed during
the reign of Ibrahim as he complains of unemployment
(p. 1806) in the year 551 A.H. But this assumption is

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* Where under the year 429 A.H. (1037
-8) the author says that he had
never experienced such a severe cold as
he did that year since his ~~the~~ twenty
~~thirty~~ years' stay at Ghazni in the
state service

(p. 1806), and who was the son-in-law of Ghazni Ahmad

I. T. B., fol. 1034

2. *Man. Vol. I, p. 1806* the MS. of *Kitab* is not
available, either in the British Museum or India Office

3. T. B., fol. 1015

4. T. B., pp. 182, 184

6

'Abd al-Ṣamad who succeeded Khwajah Ahmad Hasan Maymandi as the Wasir to Sultān Mas'ūd. No doubt, he was in the corner of unemployment in 451 A.H. while writing his history, but the statement about his re-appointment in the reign of Ibrāhīm is contradicted by Abū'l-Ḥasan^{also}, who says that Abū'l-Faḡl was scribe to Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd, Maḥmūd and Farrukh-zād, who was succeeded by Ibrāhīm, and does not say that he was a scribe under Ibrāhīm. On the death of his master, in 431 A.H. (1039-40), when he had been in state service for twenty one years, Mas'ūd was willing to give him the office of the Chief Secretary, but, owing to his youth, for he was only forty-five ~~years~~ or forty-six years old, it was given to Bū Sahl Zūsanī, and it was with great persuasions and encouragements that Abū'l-Faḡl withdrew his resignation surrendered on account of the bad temp

1. Ibid., p. 121.

2. T.B., fol. 101b.

3. T.H., pp. 466-7.

4. T.H., pp. 745-8. Ibn al-Asir (Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 175) mentions his death under the same year.

5. Ibid., p. 666⁷⁴⁹. While describing the death of his teacher Bū Naṣr Muḥḥānīn 431 A.H. (1039) the author says that he has been in service under him for nineteen years and Barthold (Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 582b) draws the conclusion that he must have been in the Dīwān i Risālat from about 412 (1021-22) and ignores the statement on p. 666. I think that the author joined the state service in 409 in some department other than the Secretariat, and was taken in the Secretariat in 412 A.H. when Bū Naṣr Muḥḥānīn had been there for about eleven years. See T.H., p. 749, where Bayhaqī says that on his death Bū Naṣr had been in the

please see opposite page

1. of Zūsanī. During the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥīm he was
 2. Chief Secretary. Besides the present historical work,
 to him is attributed another book, called Zīnat al-
 Kuttāb (the "Decoration of the Scribes"), a treatise
 3. on secretarial art, which it would have been very in-
 teresting to compare with the ideas of Niḡmī 'Arūzī
 4. Samarqandī, expressed in his *Chahār Maqālah* on this
 branch of art. His ideas on the duties of a state
 official, however, are preserved to us by Abū'l-Ḥasan,
 which appear to have been taken from this Zīnat al-
 Kuttāb. These are as follows:-

5.
 "And *Khawājah* Abū'l-Fazl Bayhaqī says:

'The servant of the King should not hoard wealth, as it would be to seek partnership in the Kingdom, because to decorate the Treasures (savings) with money is the habit and privilege of kings. Nor should a state servant keep lands or estates as it is the privilege of the public. The servant of the King has a status between the people and the King, and is higher than the people and lower than the King. He should not imitate the King in hoarding money, and the people in lands and magnificence. In the service of the King he should be content

1. T.M., pp. 753-4; Barthold, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 592b, wrongly gives p. 759.

2. T.M., p. 122.

3. T.B., fol. 101b.

4. *Chahār Maqālah*, p. 12.

5. ~~Barthold~~ T.B., fols. 102b-103a; Abū'l-Ḥasan does not mention the name of the book from which the extra has been taken, but from the nature of contents we may assume that it is from the Zīnat al-Kuttāb.

with his income, and adjust his expenses to it... He should not be over-tempted by the service of the King and seek wealth through this power; so that, if he made his position the source of wealth, he might lose both power and money, and perhaps endanger his life. He should have a house of his own in the capital so that he might not be guests of the public. If he goes where the King sits, it is advisable for him to have some sheep as a man without sheep stands a very poor chance of good treatment from the people in the service of the King. If possible, he should manage in such a way as to let his expenses outbalance his income; so that he may both enjoy good treatment and keep the danger away. He should also be honest in words and writing, in order to escape dismissal and punishment. Should he use his power in the interests of the weak and helpless, he would reap great advantage in the next world; thus he would be immune in this world and have plenty of hopes for the next."

A Poet.

He was, also, a poet, though of an inferior rank, who did not take up poetry very seriously. When imprisoned in Ghaznī by the Qāsi for illegal engraving of seals¹, and sent to the fort together with other servants of 'Abd al-Rashīd, the Ghaznawīd, by Tughrīl Farrār, a slave of Maḥmūd who had fled away on his capture of Ghaznī and the murder of 'Abd al-Rashīd, Abū'l-Faḡl composed the following couplets in the form

كَلَّمَكَ مِنْ شُرُوكِ يَوْمٍ فِي الْحَنِينِ مِنْ مَلَأَ لِي يَوْمَ
مَا لِي بِوَسْوَاسِي وَمَا لِي بِدَوَامِ لَمْ يَكُومَ فِي النِّعَمِ وَالْجُودِ قَوْمَ²

1. Barthold (Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 592) reads the word "Muhrzanī" and translates it as illegal engraving of seals, while it might be read as "Mihrzanī", love of a woman. See T.B., fol. 103a.

2. T. B., fol. ~~103a~~ 103b

"If a day of your happiness has passed,
so has a day of my sorrow;

there is no constancy either in my grief or
good fortune,
as people never lived for ever in sorrow or
prosperity."

There are also two verses quoted by Abū'l-Hasan Bayhaqī at the end of the ideas of Abū'l-Faḡl on the duties and obligations of a state official, taken either from the lost portion of his colossal work or the Zīnat al-Kuttāb. The verses run as follows:

”جُرْمِي قَدْ أَرَادَ بِي الْعُذْرُ فَلَيْسَ لِي شَيْءٌ سِوَى الصَّبْرِ
فَأَسْرَمْتُ خَاطِرِي كُلَّهُ لِكَيْ لَا أَتَقَى الْيَوْمَ فِي السُّكْرِ“

"My crime is my longing for pardon, and there
is nothing for me but patience;
it pleased my heart to the core, so that I may
pass my time in intoxication."

Scarcity of
Material for
his Biography.

The above-quoted Tārīkh i Bayhaq, which is a collection of biographical notices rather than history proper, is perhaps the only book, so far as our present knowledge goes, which speaks of our author at some length. It was completed on the 5th of Shawwāl, 563 A.H. (14th of July, 1168), ninety-three years

1. T.B., fol. 103a.

2. Rieu, supp., p.60.

after the death of the author of the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī and Abū'l-Hasan saw some of the volumes of this stupendous history of the Ghaznawids in Sarakhs, others in the Library of the Madrasah i Mahd i 'Irāq in Nishāpūr, and some in private possessions, though not all.^{1.}

Thus it is the oldest work which mentions Abū'l-Faḡl and his history from first-hand knowledge. Dowson says that the portion dealing with the history of Maḥmūd was called Tāj al-Futūḥ, as it is evident from the Qasidahs of 'Unṣurī'.^{2.} But he does not mention the Qasidah in question, and it is doubtful, in the light of the carelessness shown in the compilation of Elliot's history, that the statement is correct.^{3.}

Moreover, the greater portion of the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī WE
written between 450 and 451 A.H. (1058-59), as will be discussed in the course of this introduction, though it had been started in 448 A.H. That is, it took about three years to write a history of approximately ten years (421-432 A.H.), and it seems improbable if the author started the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī seventeen years, or even more, after the completion

1. T.B., fol. 101b; 12b.

2. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 53.

3. See this Introduction, p. 35.

of the part dealing with the history of Maḥmūd, as
 1.
 Unṣurī died in 431 A.H. (1039-40), seventeen years
 before the commencement of the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī.

Besides the Tārīkh i Bayhaq, we possess another
 book by the same author called Tārīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām
 an Arabic biography of Muslim philosophers (Catalogue
 Arabic MSS., Berlin State Library, No.10052. pm.737),
 in which a reference is made to our author, but that
 is very meagre as compared with the one noticed above.

Still, though the material for his biography
 is not very rich, the historians who mention him as
 their authority on the Ghaznawid period are many, as
 will be seen during the course of this introduction.

1. See this Introduction, p. 13.

2. Ibid., p.

His Contemporaries.

Those mentioned in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī.

Besides the state officials of the reigns of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd,—such as Ḥasanak, the minister of Maḥmūd, Khawajah Abū'l-Qāsim Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Maymandī, the minister to Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd, Khawajah Bī Naṣr Muṣḥkānī, the Chief Secretary to these two sovereigns Altūntāsh Khwārazmshāh^{and} / Asaf-tigin, called Hājib Ghāzī, and Aryāruq, the two great commanders, Khawajah Aḥmad 'Abd al-Samad, first secretary to Altūntāsh and then minister to Mas'ūd on the death of al-Maymandī, with most of whom he was known intimately, and of whom he speaks at such a great length both from personal knowledge and first-hand oral information,—Abū'l-Faḡl does not supply us with the biographical information of his contemporaries busy in other walks of life such as poetry, history, rhetoric etc. Of course, there are large numbers of insignificant persons mentioned by him, simply because of their friendship with him, or in order to show the organisation of different services and to supply to the coming generations with the system of administration of the Ghaznawids. And as the author was

in the diplomatic chancellery he was naturally friends with clerks, accountants, auditors, scouts, spies, Qāsiā, private secretaries to high officials, and other civil and military officers, who, though very important from the point of view of the details of administration especially in the absence of any work on that subject, did not leave a name in history.

Among contemporary poets ^{1.} Abū'l-Faṣl mentions 'Asjadī, Farrukhī and Zīnatī, and quotes ^{2.} 'Unṣurī (d. 431 A.H. 1039-40), ^{3.} the two last mentioned being rewarded by Mas'ūd. But it is doubtful whether he was on intimate terms with them. ^{4.} With Abū Hanīfah Isḥāqī he was very familiar, was a great admirer of him, and requested him, when he brought the Tārīkhī Mas'ūdī down to Shawwāl, 422 A.H. (September 1031), to write a Qaṣīdah, celebrating the death of Sultan Maḥmūd, the succession of Muḥammad, the arrival of Mas'ūd from Bīpāhān and accession to the throne, which is given in full, pp. 335-344; other two Qaṣīdahs of his are quoted on pp. 470-476. Among prose-writers and historians,

1. T.H. 344; chahār Maqālah, 132-3.

2. Rieu, *supp.*, p. 139.

3. T.H., 147 and 334 respectively.

4. Not to be confounded with earlier Abū'l-Qāsim Isḥāqī the Dabīr of the Sāmānids, who is mentioned in the Chahār Maqālah, text, pp. 13-16, also this Introduction p. 35.

Abū'l-Faḡl mentions Maḥmūd Warrāq^{1.}, the author of a history of some thousands of years completed in 450 A.H. (1058-9) and brought down to 409 A.H. (1018-19), the year whence Abū'l-Faḡl started his present work, and quotes him on the flood in Rūd i Ghaznīn and was going to give more extracts from his history when he was stopped by the sons of Warrāq. The chapter on Khwārazm is based almost entirely on ^{the} Asār al-Bīrūnī of Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, with acknowledgment. The reason for this lack of information about poets and literary men contained in this book is, perhaps, as the author himself points out, want of appreciation ^{by} men of letters in the time of Mas'ūd who slackened in generosity in his later days.^{2.}

Mainly those
not Men-
tioned:

(1) Poets.

Still Abū'l Faḡl must have come in contact with Abū'l-Wajm Aḥmad Dāmaghānī, called Minūchihri, a favourite of Minūchihri, son of Qābūs, the ruler of Gurgān, on whose death he passed into the service of Maḥmūd whom he eulogised in his Qaṣīdahs and his son Mas'ūd after him, and died in 432 A.H. (1040-41), according to Majma' al-Fuṣaḥa,^{3.} or after 439 A.H. (1047-8), according to the Tehrān edition of his Dīwān.^{4.} If the date of the death

1. T.M., 317; also this Introduction, p. 76.

2. Ibn, p. 147.

3. M.F., Vol.I, p. 542.

4. D.M., p. 4a.

of Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Qulū¹, poetically surnamed Farrukhī, given by Taqī Khshī, i.e. 470 A.H. (1077-8)² be correct, it coincides with the date of our author's death. But if we accept the earlier date of his death, i.e., 429 A.H. (1037-8)³ mentioned in Majma' al-Fuṣaḥā, our author must have ^{at least} met him as Farrukhī became a Court-poet of Maḥmūd on the death of his former patron Abū'l-Muḥaffar Tahir Chaghānī. According to Majma' al-Fuṣaḥā, the poet Qatrān died in 465 A.H. (1072-3)⁴, only five years before our author's death; but it is doubtful if Abū'l Faḥl ever met him, because Qatrān, a native of Jābāl, or the Daylamite Highland, lived in Tabrīz, and addressed most of his poems to the Sultans and Amīrs who flourished in Āzarbāijān under Tughril I, especially to Amīr Faḥlūn, and Shāh Abū Naṣr Mamlān, the governor of a district in Āzarbāijān.

A far more illustrious contemporary of Bayhaqī is the poet, philosopher and traveller, the Ismā'īlī propagandist Nāṣir i Khusrāu (b. 394 A.H. = 1003;⁵

1. K.A.T.Q., fol. 60b, p. 137.

2. T.B., fol. 101b.

3. M.F., Vol. I, p. 439.

4. M.F., Vol. I, p. 466; also J.O.R.A.S., October, 1924, p. 617.

5. D.H. Kh., Tabrīz ed., p. 110; also (Schafer), Safer Nāmāh, p. XLV.

d. 481 A.H. ^{1.} = 1088), though there is no evidence of their meeting with each other. In 1055-58 A.D., ^{2.} about 19-21 years before the death of Abū'l-Faḡl, ^{3.} Bābī Ṭahīr 'Uryān, one of the four great Quatrain-writers, was alive. The death of Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī'l-Khayr, another famous Quatrain-writer and mystic, took place in 440 A.H. ^{3.} (1049 A.D.), while our author was still alive. Ten or eleven years after the birth of Abū'l-Faḡl, i.e., in 396 A.H. ^{4.} (1006), was born Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, the author of several treatises on Sufism and other poetical tracts. Abū'l-Majd Majdūd ibn Ādam, poetically surnamed Sanā'ī, the first of the three great Masnawī-writers, was born in 437 A.H. (1045-6), as mentioned in Khulāṣat al-ash'ār, ^{5.} when Abū'l-Faḡl was about fifty-two years old, and died long after him, according to ^{6.} Jāmī, in 525 A.H. (1130-31), and Maṣ'ūd Sa'd i Salmān, who died, according to Niṣāmī Arūṣī quoted in Riyāṣ

1. Schefer, *Saḡar Nāmāh*, p. XLV.

2. Brown, Vol. II, p. 260.

3. N.U., p. 347.

4. Ibid., p. 377.

5. K.A. ^{T.Q.}, fol. 106b.

6. N.U., p. 697; also K.A., fol. 286a, where this year is mentioned on the authority of the *Majālis al-Uḡabāq*; and K.A. T.Q., fol. 106b.

al-Shu'arā, after 515 A.H. (1121-22) was also alive when Abū'l-Faḡl died. Abū'l-Faraḡ Rūnī, the panegyrist of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm the Ghaznawid, who ascended the throne in 451 A.H. (1059), and his son Mas'ūd who died in 509 A.H. (1115-16), was still living when Abū'l-Faḡl was busy writing the greater part of the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī (as will be discussed later on).

(ii) Prose-writers.

In the domain of prose-writers, besides Abū Rayḡān al-Bīrūnī Bū Maṣṣūr al-Sa'ālībī and Nāṣir i Khusrāu, the name of Bū 'Alī Sīnā (Avicenna), the author of the Dāniyā Nāmah i 'Alā'ī (Or. 16,830, Rieu, II, p. 233), whose death took place in Sha'bān, 428 A.H. (May, 1037), stands with prominence. A much later writer, Kay-Kā'ūs, the author of the Qābūs Nāmah, composed ~~for~~ ^{him} in 475 A.H. (1082-3), only

1. R.Sh. fol.408b. But it is not clear which Niḡāmī 'Arūḡī is meant by the author of the Riyāz al-Shu'arā, because the death of Mas'ūd Sa'dī Salīmān is not mentioned in the Chahār Maqālāh of Niḡāmī 'Arūḡī Samarqandī. I think it is a slip of the pen to mention this date on the authority of Niḡāmī 'Arūḡī as the author of the Riyāz al-Shu'arā is not always trustworthy in his statements. For instance, he quotes the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī (by Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī) on the imprisonment of a poet Mas'ūd Rāḡī by Sultan Maḡmūd on account of Mas'ūd's advising him in his poem to be cautious from his enemies; whereas in the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī (T.M., pp. 44-5), the Sultan in question is Mas'ūd, the son of Maḡmūd and not Maḡmūd himself. Taqī Kāshī (K.A.T.Q., fol. 154b) places the death in the later part of the year 515 A.H.

2. T.M., p. 467; hence the year 450 given in T.G., p. 404 is wrong.

3. T.N., p. 21; T.G., p.404, probably wrongly, gives 406.

4. See this introduction, p. 75.

5. KEmil, Vol.IX, p.170; al-Qiftī (T.H., p.426) gives only the year. Shahrastānī, pp. 348-429 gives long notices of his philosophy but does not mention his death.

6. Q.N., p. 228.

five years after the death of Abū'l-Faḡl, enjoys a unique position during this period of early development of Persian prose. To the same period belongs Shah-Mas'ūd ibn Abū'l-Khayr, perhaps, the first encyclopedic writer in Persian prose, as his book, Nuzhat Nāmah i 'Alā'ī (MS. No. 1480, Bodleian Library, Ethe., pp. 906-8, and Gotha Persian Catalogue, No. 10, pp. 30-36) was completed after 475 A.H. (1082-3) as the author mentions the casualties caused by lightning in this year¹. In 10 A.D., about fifteen years after Abū'l-Faḡl's death, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad 'Ubayd Allāh wrote a treatise on different religions, called Bayān al-Adyān². About the middle of the eleventh century of the Christian era, in the reign of 'Abd al-Rashīd the Ghaznawid (d. 444 A.H. 1052-3)³, Gardizī produced an important historical work on Khurāsān, entitled Zayn al-Akhbār (Bodleian Per. MS. Catalogue, pp. 9-11). In the latter part of the same century 'Alī ibn 'Uṣmān al-Jullābī al-Rujwīrī (d. between 465 and 469 A.H. = 1072 and 1076-7) wrote a mystical treatise named Kashf al-Mahjūb⁴. In the first decade of

1. N.N. A., fol. 133a Ethe.

2. Schefer, pp. 132-89 (pp. 132-171, text).

3. M.D., p. 289.

4. K.N., Intr. XIX.

sixth century A.H. (twelfth A.D.), Ibn al-Balkhī, whose real name is not known, composed his *Pārs^S Nāmah*,^{and} dedicated it to the brother and successor of Barkiyāruq, namely Sultān Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muḥammad, at whose instance¹ he undertook this work and who died in 511 A.H. (1116) which has many archaic words in common with the *Tārīkh Mas'ūdī*.² About fourteen years after the death of our author, in 484 A.H. (1091-2), the Minister Niẓām al-Mulk Tūsī wrote his unique treatise on the art of government, called *the Siyāsat Nāmah*.² Among Arabic writers included Imām Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, called *Hāj^ujat al-Islām*, the author of the well-known Sufistic treatise *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm* (b. 450 = 1058; d. 505 = 1111);³ and Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Māwardī (d. 1058 A.D.), out of nine works of whom enumerated by Broclemann^K the most celebrated is the *Adab al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn* (Berlin, 5393/4).⁴ In Arabic our author had his great contemporary in the poet,^{and} blind, sceptic Abū'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī, who was visited

1. Ibn al-Balkhī, *Intr.* xi.

2. S.N. N.M., p.1.

3. *Zahabī*, Vol. II, pp. 23-24.

4. Broclemann, 1, p. 836.

by Nāṣir i Khusrau in Rajab, 438 A.H.^{1.} (January, 1047). When Bayhaqī was thirteen years old, in 398 A.H. = 1008 A.D.,^{2.} died Abū'l-Faḡl Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, called Badī' al-Zamān al-Ḥamadānī, the inventor of the rhetorical Maqāmāt and the author of the Maqāmāt i Badī'ī. Among books on Prosody and Rhetoric written by the contemporaries of our author, may be mentioned the lost Khujistah Nāmah by Bahrāmī Sarakhsī and Tarjamat al-Balāghat by Farrukhī, both of which were written about 1058 A.D.

Sultan,
Princes and
Rulers.

Rise of the
House of
Ghaznah.

Of the various dynasties which held sway in our author's lifetime, the most important and powerful is the House of Ghaznah, to which he was attached, as already mentioned, first as a clerk, then ^{as a} Deputy Secretary, and ultimately ^{as} the Chief Secretary. This slave dynasty (367-582 = 977-1186) was founded by Sebük-tigin, a slave and son-in-law of Alp-tigin, a Turk slave, who, under 'Abd al-Malik the Samanid, became the commander-in-chief of Khurāsān, and upon his death retired to Ghaznah in the Sulaymān mountains, where his father had been governor and was succeeded by his son, and his slave Sebuk-tigin.^{3.} Now this Sebük-tigin, called

1. S.N. N.KH., pp. 10-11.

2. Y.D., Vol. iv, p. 169.

3. Badāyūnī, Vol. I, p. 8; in T.N., pp. 7, 29, 366-

1. ^{the} Jūq as told to the author of Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī by Sultān Maḥmūd and quoted ^{wrongly} as Sarjūq by Muḥammad Muḥsin in his ^{2.} Zubdat al-Tawārīkh written in 1151 A.H. (1738-9), defeated the Rājputs and captured Peshāwar, on the one hand, and got Khurāsān from the Sāmānīd prince Nūḥ ^{3.} in 384 A.H. (994), on the other. On his death in 387 A.H. ^{4.} (997), he was succeeded by Maḥmūd who raised this house to the first-rate power in Central Asia, raided India in twelve successive campaigns for his lust of money disguised in the cloak Islām, and left on his death in 421 ^{A.H.} (1030) an Empire including Khurāsān, Hindūstān, Sīnd, Nīm-rūs and Khawārazm, ^{5.} which his unworthy successors were unable to retain before the rising power of the Saljūqs, who, though invited by him in Khurāsān, ^{6.} were suppressed by his iron hand during his lifetime. His son and immediate successor Muhammad, who had ascended the throne during Mas'ūd's

1. Raverty, I, p. 68, where he discusses this title; in T.N. (p. 6 text) the title is Jūq.

2. Z.T. fol. 113b. This MS. is very wrongly written.

3. Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 38; in T.M., pp. 241-4, the events of the subsequent year (385), i.e., the overt rebellion of Bū'Alī Sīnjūr on 1st, Rabi'ī, 385, and his capture by Maḥmūd in Jumādā II, are recorded.

^{Kāmil, Vol. IX,}
4. ~~Ibid.~~ p. 48; Firishtah, 36.

5. T.M., p. 20.

6. Ibid., p. 323.

absence in Sīpāhān, was dethroned, imprisoned and sent to Qilāhi Kūhshīr^{1.} and thence of Qilāhi Mandīsh^{2.} Mas'ūd, of whose life and character the Tārīkh i Mas'ūd is a mirror, was murdered in 432 A.H. (1040-41) in Qilāhi Kīrī or Kubrā^{3.} Our author survived to see the reigns of Maudūd (d.440 = 1048-9)^{4.} (whom Lane-Poole and Minhāj i Sirāj wrongly call Shihāb al-Daulah, which was the title of his father Mas'ūd II,^{5.} 'Abd al-Rashīd (d.444 = 1052-3),^{6.} Farrukh-zād (d.451 A.H.^{7.} 1059-60), the greater part of that of Ibrāhīm (d.499 1098-9).^{8.}

Ziyārid and Buwayhid, Hasanawayhid and Kākwayhids, etc.

Abū'l-Faḡl was also contemporary with some of the rulers of (a) the Ziyārid dynasty (316-483 = 928-1090-91),^{10.} founded by a certain Mardawīj ibn Ziyār;^{11.} (b) the Daylamite House of Buwayh (320-447 = 932-

1. Ibid., p. 2.

2. Ibid., p. 76.

3. Ibid., no exact date is given.

4. Kāmil, IX, 182.

5. M.D., p. 289; T.N., p. 15.

6. T.M., pp. 103, 123.

7. M.D., p. 289; see the following footnote.

8. Kāmil, Vol.X, p. 2; also T.N., p.19; T.M., p.4 where the date of the accession of his successor Ibrāhīm is given as 19th, Šafar, 451.

9. T.N., p.21; T.G., p. 404. Kāmil, Vol.X, p. 61, wrongly gives 481 A.H.

10. M.D., p. 136.

11. Asia Major, Vol.II, Facs. 2, pp. 209-11, Table

1055), founded by 'Alī ibn Buwayh, who had been appointed the governor of Karaj, a district to the south of Hamadān, by the above-mentioned Mardawij^{1.}; (c) the Hasanwayhids (348-406 = 959-1015)^{2.}; and (d) the Kākwayhids (398-443 = 1007-1051)^{3.} founded respectively by Hasanwayh ibn Husayn Barziqānī of Kurdistan, the chief of one of the Kurdish tribes, and by Muḥammad ibn Duḥmannāz known as ibn Kākwayh, the first cousin of Majd al-Daulah, the Buwayhid, of Hamadān; (e) the Sālārīds or Musāfirīds (about 320-450 A.H. = 932-1058)^{4.}; (f) the Shaddādīds (about 340-470 A.H. = 951-2 - 1077-8)^{5.}; and (g) the Īl-Khāns of Turkistān (320-560 A.H. = 932-1164-5)^{6.}.

The Saljūqs.

Byhaqī was an eye-witness of the rise of the Saljūqs of whose deprivations, fights with Mas'ūd, and triumph

1. M.D., p. 139.

2. Ibid., p. 138; also Šadafī, Vol. I, pp. 429-432, where they are called Husayniyah.

3. Ibid., p. 145.

4. Asia Major, Vol. II, Fasc. 2, pp. 212-15, Table II.

5. Ibid., pp. 215-19, Table III.

6. M.D., p. 134.

The
Caliphs.

over him in 431 A.H. ^{1.} (1039-40), he gives the most entertaining and trustworthy account. The sovereigns of this house contemporary with him were Tughril Beg ^{2.} (d. 451), Alp-Arsalān ^{3.} (451-465), and for only five years, Malik Shāh ^{4.} (465-485). In the Metropolis of Islām, the Caliphs during his time were, in turn, ^{5.} al-Qādir (381-422 = 991-2 - 1030-31), and his son al-Qā'im (422-467 = 1030-31 - 1074-5), who was succeeded ^{6.} by al-Muqtadī.

1. T.N., p. 783.

2. Kāmil, Vol. X, p. 9.

3. Ibid., pp. 10 and 27.

4. Ibid., pp. 27 and 68.

5. Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 30 and 100.

6. Ibid., p. 100, Vol. X, p. 35.

The Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī.

The MSS — The Printed Editions — Various Titles —
 Date of Composition — Extant Volumes — Lost Volumes
 — Proofs of their Existence — Internal-External —
 Period dealt with — In the Extant Portion — In the
 Whole — Beginning from 409 A.H. — Value of the Book
 — Historical — Sources — Oral and Written —
 Literary Merits and Defects — Quotations from Poets
 and their Importance — Main Defects — Appreciation.

The Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī.

The MSS. and
the Printed
Editions.

Dawson gives the following account of the MSS. based upon notes added by Sir Elliot to his original sketch and upon letters relating to various extant MSS. addressed to Sir Elliot by Mr. Morley:^{1.}

"... After some research Sir H. Elliot discovered a portion of the work in the possession of Ziyā'al-Dīn Khan, of Lohārū near Dehlī, and he subsequently procured three other copies, one from Dr. Sprenger (Lucknow), another from Agra, and a third from Lahore. The Dehlī MS. was forwarded to the late Morley in England who was previously in possession of a copy. Another MS. was found in the Bodleian Library, and the libraries of Paris and St. Petersburg also possessed one copy each. The last two were lent to Mr. Morley, who, after a collation of six MSS., produced a revised text, which some years after his death was printed in the Bibliotheca Indica under the supervision of Major N. Lees and his staff of munshis. This comprises part of Vol. 6, the whole of Vols. 7, 8, 9, and part of Vol. 10 of the original work. There is some confusion in the numbering of volumes, for instance, the indices of the Dehlī and Agra MSS. call that portion of the

1. Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 54-5.

2 See this introduction p. 42.

1.
work, Vol.5, which Mr. Morley calls Vol.5, but there is ample evidence among Sir H. Elliot's papers that Mr. Morley took great pains to ascertain the correct division of the work, and his decision must be accepted.

"All, or at any rate, six of the MSS. contain exactly the same matter, beginning and ending with the same words, and further agree in showing a lacuna after the account of the raid to Benares (p. 408 of Morley's edition), where about a page and a half of matter seems to be missing. Mr. Morley remarks that one copy had a marginal note of 'Sic in orig.'.

"Thus it is apparent that all these copies must have been ^{made} immediately or intermediately, from the same original. The dates of the various MSS. are not known, but that of the Paris copy is 1019 Hijrā (1610). The inference to be drawn from these facts is, that the voluminous work of Baihaki was reduced to the remnant which we still possess by the end of the sixteenth century, and the chance of recovering the remainder though not impossible, is beyond hope."

Besides the above MSS. there is a copy of the
2.
Tārīkh 1 Mas'ūdī in the India Office Library (I.O.3736)

1. As Agra and Dohli MSS. are not available to me I content myself, for the time being, with the internal evidence of the text of the Tārīkh 1 Mas'ūdī; see this Introduction, p. 42.

2. It is not included in Ethé's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library.

which bears the title of "Tārīkh i Khulafā' i Mashidin" a clerical mistake, and which bears no date. Among printed editions, in addition to the one referred to, is a Tehran edition by Sayyid Ahmad, "Adib", with a preface by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Isfahānī, Farūghī, "Adib", the Secretary of Printing-press and the Bureau of Translation in Tehran, printed in 1307 A.H. (1889-90). This edition, apart from an introduction and a poem in praise of the author, which cover three pages, and occasional margin notes, is very important from the view-point that it contains some of the parts omitted in Bibliotheca edition. The latter begins abruptly with the letter of officials ^{from} Tikinābād on the capture and imprisonment of Muḥammad in Qil'ah-i Kūhshīr requesting Mas'ūd for further orders, and opens with these words:

”دُرُغَمَه كِه اَز زبَانِ اَمِيانِ مَلِكِ بَامِيه سَسُودِ بِيَشْتَنَد -
زَنَدگَانِي خَدَاوند سَلَمَتِي رَزَقَم دِلِ النعم دراز باد“

The Tehran edition has about one page more than the Bibliotheca one, in the beginning, and starts with a sort of introductory notice necessary to keep the sequence of events. It begins thus:

« بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم -

گوینده این داستان ابو الفضل بهقی دیر از دیار خویش چنین
گوید که چون سلطان ماضی محمود بن سبکتگین غازی غزنوی رضی الله عنه
در غزنین فرمان یافت و او دلچست جان بجان آفرین تسلیم نمود، پسر بزرگ
و دلجو و امیر مسعود در سپاهان بود و بسبب مهربانی و تعداد حرکت خواست
می کرد و از تخت ملک بسیار دور بود. بنا بر علی هذا اسناد دارد که آن وقت
محمود را از قبیل امیری قریب حاجب بزرگ، و لهذا اوله امیر ابو یوسف
یوسف بن ناصر الدین سبکتگین برادر سلطان که سخاسا در دود و سر حسن
شعور و کینه و وزیر و بولفر و آن صفت و دولت و مسالت بود تا نیم کثیر حب
دولت و مرض و بکشتی سال در زندان سرگشته و ملولیم ایاز و علی طایه خویش
سلطان این صدمه با سائر محفل و سران این جواب دید و بگوید و یافت را
پسر کشته سلطان ماضی رضا را در دهانه لیسر الحار و محمد را از کوزمانان
که بنادر ملک نزدیکی کرده بجای پدر بزرگوارش بر تخت سلطنت نشاند
و حاجب بزرگ امیر قریب که بهترین امین دولت بود در پیش
السیاهه و دوشی را راند گرفت. و چون امیر مسعود رفته (الدینیه) فتح
غزینیت بغداد کرده از سپاهان بگری و از روی بشا بود و از نشا بود و بگری
رسید تا از علی محمد استانی و مصلح و یک سران امیر محمد را در قلعه کوخسیر
تنگینا با موقوف نموده و بعد خواهی آنچه از روی صفت رفته بود و در
علقه نبشته لاجبات منکته را که برادر حاجب بزرگ و بویگر عصری ندیم
سلطان ماضی برادر سلطان مسعود رضی الله عنه
اسناد داشتند. زنده ای خداوند دراز باد «

"In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

"The author of this history, Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī, Dabīr, says, on account of his eye-witness, that when the late Sultān Maḥmūd ibn Sebūk-tigīn Ghāzi Ghaznawī died (and) gave his sweet life to the Creator, his eldest son and heir-apparent, Amīr Mas'ūd was in Sīpāh away from the capital, ready to move to Hamadān and Baghdād. Therefore the nobles and the pillars of the Maḥmūdīd kingdom, such as Amīr 'Alī Qurayb, the Chief Chamberlain, 'Aẓd al-Daulah, Amīr Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Nāsīr al-Dīn Sebūktigīn, the brother of the Sultān and the Commander-in-Chief, Minister Amīr Ḥasan, known as Ḥasanak Wazīr, Bū Naṣr Muḥkāmī, the Chief Secretary, Bū'l-Qāsim Kaṣīr, the chief controller of Accounts, Bek-tughdī, commander of royal pages, Abū'l-Najm Ayās, and 'Alī-Bāyah, the son-in-law of the Sultan, — all these, in consultation with each other and as warranted by the emergency of the case, brought the younger son of the Sultān (May God illumine his argument!), Amīr Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad from Kūzkan, near the capital as it was, and seated him on the throne in the place of his noble father, and the Commander-in-Chief Amīr 'Alī Qurayb, the most leading noble, rose equal to the occasion and began to administer state affairs, and

when Amīr Mas'ūd (May God mercy him!) abandoned his idea of Baghdād, came from Sīpāhān to Rayy, from Rayy to Nishāpūr, and from there to Herāt, Amīr Alf, in consultation with other nobles, imprisoned Amīr Muḥammad in Qil'ahī Kuhshīr (in) Tikhābād, and apologising for what was done for the sake of emergency, wrote this letter and sent it at the hands of Mankitrāk (?), the brother of the Chief Chamberlain, and Bū Bakr Ḥuṣayrī, the Nadīm of the late Sultān, to the Dargāh of Sultān Mas'ūd (May God be pleased with him!)."

Again, after the news of the conquest of Benares and the retreat of the victorious forces reported by the Commander of Hindustan, Ahmad Yīnāl-tigīn, and the official reporters attached to the army, there is some space left in the Bibliotheca edition¹ and the following note appears:

"[اینجا بیاض در حواش منتهی است و بر حاشیه یک نسخه نوشته شده]
 و در اصل همین مورد است تخمیناً یک و نیم صفحه رفته است و آن برنا
 را دفن کردند."

["It is blank here in all the six MSS., and on the margin of one of these is written 'in the origin it is like this'; approximately one and a half pages are missing], and the youth was buried." The Tehran edition²

1. Pp. 498-9.

2. P. 410.

fills the gap and runs thus:-

از عجایب که درین آثار رخ نمود - سستی لبیر التوتو نشا
خوارزمشاه روزی میستان بیابم آمد تا تفریح کند - قفای
آمده از بیابان لبیر افتاد و جان بداد - و آن نیز ناراد رفت
کردند

"The events which happened in the meantime:-
Sati (Sattī?), son of Altūnīsh Khwārazm-shāh, came,
one day, intoxicated to the roof for recreation. Acci-
dentally he fell off the roof and died. The youth
was buried. ..."

The concluding words of both the editions are
the same. The names of persons and places are more
correctly written in ^{the} Tehrān edition. In a word, it is
more trustworthy than Bibliotheca one, although the
right form of certain proper names cannot be ascertain-
even in this most careful edition, the editor of which
had certainly recourse to earlier MSS. of the book, or
at least, to more complete ones than the editor of the
Bibliotheca edition.

**The Various
Titles of
the Book.**

There is no internal evidence in favour of a special name given to the whole work by the author, save to the lost part dealing with the history of Sultān Maḥmūd, called Yamīn al-Daulah, which he refers to as the Tārīkh i Yamīn^{1.}, called such after Yamīn al-Daulah, or Maqāmāt i Bū Naṣr Muṣḥkān^{2.}, or Kitāb i Maqām after the author's tutor and friend, Bū Naṣr Muṣḥkān^{3.}, the last-mentioned title adopted by the author of Agār al-Wuzara, and ^{2. save} to the present part which he calls Maqāmāt i Amīr Mas'ūd^{3.}. Even Zahr al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan Bayhaqī calls it variously "Tārīkh i Nāqirī" in his Tārīkh i Bayhaq^{4.}, and "Tārīkh i Al i Sebūktigin" in his Tārīkh Hukamā al-Islām^{5.}. The extant portion is called Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, after the name of its hero, Mas'ūd^{6.}, in Bibliotheca Indica edition, and by Elliot and Rieu,^{7.}

1. T.M., pp. 26, 158.

2. Fols. 4a, 86a, et passim.

3. T.M., p. 122; on p. 749 Bayhaqī calls the part dealing with the history of Maḥmūd only Maqāmāt; in T.G. (p. 395) it is called Maqāmāt i Abū Naṣr (for Naṣr).

4. Fol. 101b.

5. Fol. 8.

6. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 53; on p. 54 it is mentioned that Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī is mentioned in the M.O.J., while I have not been able to find it in either volume of the translation of the M.O.J.

7. Vol. I, p. 158.

as the part on the history of Maḥmūd is called Tārīkh¹ i Yamīnī by the author. In the Tārīkh i Jahān-Gusha² of Malik Aṭā Juwaynī, the Tabaqāt i Nāṣirī³ of Minhā, Sirāj, the Jawāmiʿ al-Ḥikūyat of Aṭī⁴, and the Arabic history of Gujarāt, whose proper title is the Zafar al-Wāliḥ bi-Muḡaffar wa-ʿAlīḥ, (composed about 1020 A.H. = 1611-12), which seem to follow the version of the Tārīkh i Bayhaq, it is called the Tārīkh i Nāṣirī⁵ Ḥājī Khalfah, in his Lexicon, calls it Tārīkh i Āl Sebūk-tigīn⁶. A little different are the names, 1. Jāmiʿ i Tārīkh i Āl i Sebūktigīn given to it by the author of the Mirʿāt al-Adwār wa-Mirqāt al-Akḥbār,⁷ the list of histories in the preface, and Tārīkh i Āl i Maḥmūd ibn Sebūktigīn attributed to it by Mirkhwānd, the author of Rauḡat al-Safā.⁸ Rieu and Elliot⁹ call it, also, Mujalladāt i Bayhaqī; while the author of the Tārīkh i Firishtah,¹⁰ and Ḥamd Allāh Must¹¹

1. Vol. II, p. 44.

2. Raverty, p. 69. The title of the book is not given in Bibliotheca Indica edition, which, as Raverty remarks, is hopelessly wrong.

3. Nizām, p. 60; text Or. 2676, B.M.MS., Fols. 124a, 124b, 246b, 262b; on fol. 124a he calls it the Tārīkh i Daulat i Nāṣirī.

4. Vol. II, p. 652.

5. Arab Hist. of Gujarāt, Vol. II, introduction, p.

6. K.Z., Vol. II, pp. 168-9.

7. Fol. 3b.

8. Vol. I, p. 7.

9. Vol. II, p. 159.

10. Vol. II, p. 54.

11. Wrongly written as Maqāmāt i Bū Naṣr Mishkatī. Vol. I, p. 38.

Qazwinī, the author of the Tārīkh i Guzīdah,^{1.} Mujalladī i Abū'l-Faḡl, the latter calling him al-Shayḡanī, which is prima facie a clerical corruption of al-Bayhaqī; and the author of the Farhang i Nāṣirī^{2.} and the editor of the Tehran edition Tārīkh i Bayhaqī.^{2.} Ẓiyā'al-Dīn Marānī, the author of Tārīkh i Firūz-shāhī,^{3.} does not call the book by any title while giving the list of well-known histories in the preface, and is content with mentioning Bayhaqī as one of the illustrious historians of his age. Riṣā Qulī Khān, in his Majma' al-Fuṣṣḡ,^{4.} in the notice of Abū Ḥanīfah Isḡfī Marwazī whom he confuses with the earlier Abū'l-Qāsim Isḡfī (mentioned in Chahar Maqālah, pp. 13-16) calls the book the Tārīkh i Ghasnawīyah and quotes imperfectly the three poems attributed by Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī to Bū Ḥanīfah Isḡfī.^{5.}

Date of
Composition.

References to the date of composition are scattered here and there throughout the Tārīkh i Maṣ ū. In the year 455 A.H. (1063) when the author had been

1. Wrongly written as Maqāmāt i Bū Naṣhr, I, 395. ~~See this introduction, p. , also.~~

2. Under Bayhaq.

3. P. 14.

4. M.F., Vol. II, pp. 83-85.

5. Pp. 335-40; 797-801.

Internal
Evidence.

engaged upon this history for seven years, he heard the favourite verses of Amīr Muḥammad from ^{1.} Abd al-Raḥmān Qawwāl who used to sing them to him. This proves that the beginning of the present work was made as early as 448 A.H. (1056-7). Praising of the system of the just and peaceful government of the House of Ghaznah, the author says that it is twenty-nine years ^{2.} since Maḥmūd died; and as the death of Maḥmūd took place in Rabi' II, 421 A.H. ^{3.} (April, 1030), it can safely be assumed that the author was engaged upon this work — at least the earlier part of it — in 450 A.H. (1058-9). Again, in the beginning of the chapter on the Execution of Ḥasanak, Abū'l-Faḡl says: ^{4.} "I begin this narrative in Zū'l-Hijjah, 450 (January, 1059), in the reign of Farrukh-sād..." Further on, speaking of the communications of Mas'ūd with Qadir Khān, the Khān of Turkistān for renewal of pact with him, Bayhaqī says that the daughter of Maḥmūd, Furrah Zaynab, was betrothed to Qadir Khān's son Yaghān-tigīn, called Bughrā Khān ^{5.} in those days, "who was alive last year, i.e., 449" A.H.

1. T.M., p. 79.

2. Ibid., p. 127.

3. Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 149; also T.M., p. 12, where his death is mentioned on Thursday, the 22nd or 23rd of Rabi' II, 421 A.H. = 29th or 30th April, 1030.

4. T.M., p. 207; the same year on p. 121.

5. Ibid., p. 230.

(1057-8). Thus, these last three statements together with the first one, give conclusively 448-450 A.H.

(1056-9) as the years of composition of a part of the extant work. For the rest of the extant portion, Abū'l-Faḡl explicitly mentions the year when he was busy with these annals of his patrons as 451 A.H. (1059-60).^{1.}

^{2.} Barthold asserts that the surviving portion of the work was written between the years 450-451 (1058-9), and entirely ignores the fact based upon internal evidence that Abū'l-Faḡl was engaged upon this work in 448 A.H. As to the beginning^{of the composition} of the whole work, the earlier part of which dealt with the history of Maḥmūd from 409 A.H. (1018-19) till his death in 421 A.H. (1030), as will be explained later on, I have not been able to find any evidence either internal or external. Whether Bayhaqī started the earlier parts of his history in the year 448 A.H. cannot be determined with exactness. What can be safely assumed is that while writing the extant portions of his work, he had been long busy with the compilation of his history, as will be shown from the following quotation. Speaking of the circumstances of the nomination of Mas'ūd to the crown by Maḥmūd, the^{3.} author says:

1. Ibid., pp. 331, 350, 351, 578, 614, 647, 700, 792, 823.

2. Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 593a.

3. T.M., pp. 120-(27) 121.

"ومن ثم ان شرفه بوجه بدار وقت که بنشای بوجه لم خدمت
 این دولت را یافته و همیشه می خواستم که آن را بشنوم از محمده که
 کجی آن را بر این زمین دیده باشد و این اتفاق نمی افتاد تا چون
 درین روزگار این تاریخ نگارم هر صبح زود شد حاصل کردن این
 خبر که یک ویر سال است که درین شرف می زیستیم که چون روزگار
 مبارک این پادشاه رسم ایران نگارم بدست نیامده باشد خیر غیب
 باشد از فائت شدن آن - اتفاق خوب چنان افتاد که حاصل در اوایل
 سنه ۱۱۵۰ خورشیدی و در ماه کعبه خلیفه لوسعه عبدالغفار و فخر بن شریف علی امیرالمؤمنین
 ادام الدین و فضل کرد مرا درین بخواه افکلت باز صبت و نزدیک من رکن
 شد و از من در طلب آن بوجه را میخواست داد - - - "

"And I had heard a little about it when I was in
 Nishāpūr not yet in the service of this house (May God
 perpetuate it!), and I had always wished to hear it from
 a trustworthy person who had seen it with his own eyes.
 And this opportunity did not come until, during the
 composition of this history, my desire for it grew in-
 tense, as it is long since I am busy with this work,
 and I always thought that when I reached the blessed
 period of this King (Mas'ūd) it would be a loss if I
 could not obtain these details. Fortunately it so
 happened that, in the beginning of the year 450,

Khwājah BQ Sa d Abd al-Ghaffār Fākhir ibn Sharif,
'Hamid i Amīr al-Mu'minin', ..., showed (me) favour,
sought me in this corner of dismissal, came to me, and
gave me what I was in search of..."

So much for the beginning of the composition of
this work. The exact date of the composition of some
of its parts can be determined with reference to the
Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī:

”روز دوشنبه نوزدهم صفر سنه اصد و خمسين واربعمائه گشت
تاينج اينجا رسائيد بوم سلطان معظم البورقظفر ابراهيم بن نامودين الله
ملك اين اعليهم بزرگ را بيدار است...”

"On Monday, the 19th of Šafar, 451, when I had
brought the history down to here, Sultān Mu'azzam Abū'l-
Muzaffar Ibrāhīm ibn Nāṣir Dīn Allāh deposed the
government of this great Kingdom."

As this quotation occurs on p. 467, it can
safely be assumed that these pages were written before
the date mentioned above and the rest of the history
(from ^{pp} 467 to 868) after this date.

**The Extant
Volumes:
Internal
Evidence.**

The Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī affords us ample evidence as to the volumes contained in the extant part. In the beginning of the account of Mas'ūd's entry in Balkh, after the capture and imprisonment of Muhammad, in the middle of Zu'l-Hijjah, 421 (November, 1030), the author^{1.} says that he has referred to it already in Volume V,^{2.} A little further back the same event is recorded briefly, and with a little more variation, i.e., the date is 7th or 8th instead of the middle (15th) of the month. This difference might be due to the mistake of the scribe to read ^{3.} سبتمبر or سبتمبر for نيس, or to read نيس for سبتمبر or سبتمبر.^{4.} Rieu does not mention Volume V while Barthold does not discuss volumes at all. A little further on,^{4.} the settlement of the affairs of Mas'ūd in Herāt is referred to as having been mentioned in Volume V; but there is no mention of this event in this volume which covers pp. 1-102, as will be explained later on. The last-mentioned reference leads us to the conclusion that only a part of Volume V is contained in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī. At the outset of the chapter on Mas'ūd's departure from Balkh to Ghaznī,^{4.} Abū'l-Faḡl states that

1. T.M., p. 156.

2. Ibid., p. 102; Tehrān ed. reads .

3. Vol. II, p. 159.

4. Encyclopedia of Islām, Vol. I, pp. 592-3; see also this introduction p. 26.

he has mentioned it at the end of Volume VI, and, a little further back,^{1.} we find a clue to this reference. Volume VII is referred to on p. 294^{2.} where the author promises to give the details of the seizure of Amīr Yūsuf, the brother of Maḥmūd, in this volume. To volumes IX and X Bayhaqī refers in the following passage which would not be out of place if translated in full:-^{3.}

"And four days after this message [i.e., on the 5th of Rabi' I, 432, Maṣ'ūd]^{4.} set out [for Hindustān]. [Now] this volume came to an end bringing the history down to this date [i.e., 1st, Rabi' I, 432]^{5.} The departure of this King to Hindustān remains [to be mentioned until I would begin Volume X and give in it the history of Khwārazm and Jibāl in full up till now, and then go back to history and describe the journey of this King to Hindustān until his death...

1. T.M., p. 291.

2. Ibid., p. 294.

3. Ibid., pp. 832-3.

4. T.M., p. 830.

5. It contradicts Rieu (Vol. II, p. 159) who says that the Tārīkh i Maṣ'ūdī is brought down to Ṣāgar, 432. See T.M., p. 830. The history is further carried down to the 15th of Sha'bān, 432 (T.M., p. 867) when the name of Maṣ'ūd was inserted in the Khutbah in Khwārazm.

1.
 "In Volume IX I brought the history of Amīr Mas'ūd ... till his determination to go to Hindūstān after four days, and finished this volume and said that, in Volume X, I would first give an account of Khawārazm, Rayy and Jibāl, Bū Sahl Hamdūnī, the stay of these people there, their return,^{the} loss of the provinces [of Jibāl and Rayy], and^{the} loss of Khawārazm and Altūntāsh, and departure for Rayy, to keep the sequence of history, and then return to the history of this King and describe it from these four days to the end of his life which is not much."

Conclusions drawn from the above Data.

Thus the extent of the various volumes which form part of the Tārīkh of Mas'ūdī may be summed up as follows:

2.
 Vol. V: = pp. 1 - 102 (in part)
 Vol. VI: = pp. 102 - 295 (full)
 3.
 Vols. VII-IX: = pp. 295 - 832 (full)
 Vol. X: = pp. 832 - 868 (in part).

1. This marks the beginning of Vol. X; hence it should form a separate chapter.

2. Though there is no internal evidence as to the beginning of Vol. V, the introductory lines inserted in the beginning of Tehran edition (see this introduction, p.) supply us with an external proof of its commencement.

3. The actual space occupied by each volume from Vols. VII to IX cannot be determined, but as the events described in these volumes are continuous and linked together with each other, we can safely determine the space occupied by all of them as a whole.

⁰
Last Volumes
dealing
with (a)
Pre-Mas'ūd
period;

Internal
Evidence.

The ⁰last portion of ^{the}Tārīkh i Bayhaqī may be divided into two parts, viz., (i) that dealing with pre-Mas'ūd period, the limits of which will be described later on (ii) that describing the history of the successors of Mas'ūd. As for the former the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī supplies us ample data, though there is no lack of citations from it by later historians. In the beginning of Volume VI, whence commences the history of Mas'ūd proper, Abū'l-Faḡl refers to the history of Maḥmūd as it has been related by historians, and by Abū'l-Faḡl himself who had now reached this great King (Mas'ūd)¹. When Mas'ūd left Rayy, after taking an oath of allegiance and appointing a Shahnah, in 421 A.H. (1030) and reaching Dāmaghān, he was joined, in the latter place, by Bū Sahl Zūsani, who had fled from Ghasnīn. Now the author says that the flight of Bū Sahl has already been described in full, an event to which there is no mention throughout the present work but here.² The feats of valour shown by Mas'ūd in Rayy and Jibāl and his conquest of Sipāhān, are said by the author to have been described in detail in a separate chapter in the history of Maḥmūd.³ The dismissal and imprisonment of Amīr

1. T.M., p. 103; for the correct meaning of this passage which is briefly referred to here, see this Introduction, p. 62.

2. T.M., p.25; also p.26, where his imprisonment during the reign of Maḥmūd is referred to, which was fully described by the author in the "Tārīkh i Yamīnī", or the last portion of Abū'l-Faḡl's history dealing with Maḥmūd.

3. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

Muhammad in Qil'ah i Kūhshir are also described by him to have been fully dealt with already¹. But in the extant portion of Bayhaqī's work there is no detailed account of any of these events. Other events described by the author in detail in the history of Maḥmūd, to which mere references are given in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūd are as follows:-

(a) The fearlessness of Hājib Ghāzi (Āsaftigin) as Maḥmūd had given him the position of a man like Arslān Jāqib — p. 158.

².
(b) Insulting message of Hasanak to Mas'ūd during the reign of Maḥmūd — p. 209.

(c) Controversy of Maḥmūd with the Caliph al-Qādir on account of Hasanak — pp. 212-213.

(d) Revolt of Aryāruq, the Commander-in-Chief of Hindūstān, during the reign of Maḥmūd, and failure to capture him during the reign of Muhammad — pp. 261-263.

(e) Accession, dethronement and imprisonment of Muhammad, and the Commander-in-Chief of Yūsuf, the brother of Maḥmūd and the father-in-law of Muhammad — p. 296.

(f) The meeting of Maḥmūd with (Yūsuf) Qadir Khān, the ruler of Turkistān, and the betrothal of Hurrah

1. T.M., p. 11.

2. Hasanak sent this message to Mas'ūd at the hands of Aydarūs: "Tell your Amir (Mas'ūd) that whatever I do do under the orders of my master, and that he should hang me if he got the throne." T.M., p. 209.

the
Zaynab, daughter of Maḥmūd, with Yaghān-tigin called
Bughrā Khān in these days — p. 230.

(g) The arrival of Bughrā Khān, called Yaghān-tigin during his father's time, in Balkh with a view to go to Ghaznī, as he was ^{the} son-in-law of Maḥmūd through the latter's daughter Zaynab, and capture Bukhārā, Samarqand and other adjoining territories from Ālī-tigin strengthened as he was by Maḥmūd; Maḥmūd's reply to go back and make alliance with Ālī-tigin, as Maḥmūd was going to Sōmnāt and would help him on his return when Bughrā Khān also would have got the Khānate; return of Yaghān-tigin from Balkh, return of Maḥmūd from Sōmnāt, succession of Yaghān-tigin to Khānate and his fighting with Ālī-tigin on the death of his (Ālī-tigin's) brother; despatch of Bū Bakr Ḥusayrī by Maḥmūd to Marv, their fighting, peace and return, as Arslan Khān wanted his brother Bughrā Khān to remain near Maḥmūd; and the disappointment of Bughrā Khān — pp. 655-6.

(h) The Qaṣīdahs cited by poets on Mīhragāns during the reign of Maḥmūd — p. 659.

**External
Evidence.**

Quotations from the ⁰last portion of the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī may be summarised more or less chronologically under the following headings:-

I. The Tāhqaūt i Nāsiri:-

1. The ancestry of Sebük-tigin, explicitly on the authority of Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī.^{1.}

2. His early career, slavery, rise to the throne of Ghaznī in 366 A.H. (976-77), conquest of Zamīn i Dāwā, Zamīn i Quḡdār, Bāmyān, Tukhāristān and Ghūr, defeat of Jaypāl and Baghrā Khān, his arrival in Balkh, giving back the throne to Amīr of Bukhārā, clearing Khurāsān of the Bāṭiniyah terror, making Maḥmūd the Commander-in-Chief of Khurāsān in 384 A.H. (994-5) and the defeat of Bū 'Alī-Sinjūr.^{2.} None of these events save the two last mentioned are traceable in the extant portion, and even the last two events might be a repetition of the previous portion, as it is evident from the discursive and illustrative method of Abū'l-Faḡl, who, in order to maintain the link of events, repeats generally in the latter volumes what has already been said.

3. His dream in 371 A.H. (981-82), on the eve of Maḥmūd's birth, about seeing a huge tree coming out

1. T.N., p. 6.

2. Ibid., pp. 7-8; T.M. pp. 241-9.

of a fireplace in his house, which covered the whole world under its shade, and the augury of the birth of his son, together with the incidence of falling down of a temple by the Sind in Hindūstān.^{1.} This anecdote is also quoted by 'Aufī in his Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt wa-Lawāmi' al-Risāyāt, on the authority of Tārīkh i Nāsiri.^{2.}

4. The permission granted by Maḥmūd to the son of Saljūq to cross the Jayhūn, a step resented by his nobles.^{3.} This event is referred to in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī (p. 323) but there is no detailed account of it.

5. Accession of Muḥammad to the throne, his capture, and other events connected therewith which also are not described in details in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī. The rest of the history of Muḥammad appears to have been summarised from the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī.^{4.}

6. Precedence of the name of Muḥammad to that of Mas'ūd in address, disappointment of Bū Naṣr Muḥkām and other nobles, Bū Naṣr's expression of their disappointment to Mas'ūd, Mas'ūd's reply that "Sword is a better judge than words", Bū Naṣr's return, report

1. Ibid.

2. Nigām, p. 61 (No.1); text, Bib. Nat. Paris, Ancien Fonds Persan, 75, fol. 233a.

3. T.N., p. 11.

4. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

of this talk to Maḥmūd, Bū Naṣr's true account of the conversation for fear of death, Maḥmūd's reply that he knew that Mas'ūd was preferable to Muḥammad in every respect, and all that he did was simply due to his desire to let Muḥammad enjoy some honour during Maḥmūd's lifetime as the kingdom would devolve upon Mas'ūd, and Bū Naṣr's astonishment, first at Mas'ūd's wise reply,¹ and secondly on Maḥmūd's foresight.² This incidence also does not appear in the existing portion of Hayhaqī's history.

II. The Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt wa-Lawāmi' al-Riwāyāt:

1. See above No.3, under Tahaqūt i Nāsirī.

2. The overt invasion of Khurāsān by Ilīk Khān during the absence of Maḥmūd in Multān. The Tārīkh i Nāsirī² is mentioned as the source.

III. The Tārīkh i Jahān-Gushā i Juwaynī:

The anecdote of a huge snake killed by the keep of the birds of prey, on Maḥmūd's return from Sūmāt, which, when skinned, was found to be thirty yards in length and four (according to other MSS., seven) yards in breadth, which was hung at the gate of the fort of

1. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

2. Nisām, p. 62 (No.5); text, B.M.MS. Or. 2676, fol 192b.

1.
Ghasnīn for sight-seeing. The authority mentioned is Tārīkh i Nāṣirī.

IV. The Majma' al-Tawārīkh al-Sultānī:

The building of a garden in Balkh by Maḥmūd, his pleasure-parties, but lack of real enjoyment, Bū Naṣr Muṣḥkān's view that ~~this want~~ this want of real enjoyment was due to the fact that the people of Balkh had to pay very heavily for this garden, Maḥmūd's indignation at the answer; demand of justice by the people of Balkh from Maḥmūd whom they once caught in the street; Maḥmūd's accusation of Bū Naṣr, Bū Naṣr's silence; Maḥmūd's question to the Ra'īs of Balkh about the damage done by the Īl-Khāns to Balkh in their raid of Balkh during the absence of Maḥmūd in Multān, the Ra'īs's reply that it was inestimable, Maḥmūd's question that when he kept away such dangers from the people, ^{why they} could not ~~they~~ tolerate this one garden? and the Ra'īs's reply that the people cried without the knowledge of the head of the town; and the order of Maḥmūd after four months pardoning the people the tax of that garden. This event is quoted on the authority of the Tārīkh i Sultān Maḥmūd by Abū'l-Faṣl Bayhaqī.^{2.}

1. T.G.G., Vol. II, p. 44.

2. Barthold, Turkistān, pp. 157-8; H.A., Cod.Bibl. Publ.Imp. Dorn 290, fol. 161.

V. The Agār al-Wuzarā:

1. Intercession of Bū Naqr Mushkān to Mahmūd on behalf of Khwājah Ahmad Hasan Maymandī when the Sultān¹ was very much offended with him.

2. The sufferings of Ahmad Hasan.²

3. The embassy of the ruler of Khwārazm to Mahmūd to friendly relations with him and come under his protection.³

4. Meeting of the Bū Naqr Mushkān and Khwājah Ahmad Hasan, the latter on horse, Bū Naqr's desire to walk on foot along the Khwājah, but the courtesy of the Khwājah who got off and walked with Bū Naqr to the Dargāh.⁴

5. Recall of Ahmad Hasan from Hindūstān, dismissal from Ministry and appointment to Accounts Department.⁵

All these events are quoted from Maqāmāt i Bū Naqr Mushkān¹, or the portion of the Abū'l-Faḍl's work dealing with the history of Mahmūd; and none is even referred to in^{the} Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī.

1. Agār, f. 74b.

2. Ibid., f. 82a.

3. Ibid., f. 77b.

4. Ibid., f. 86a.

5. Ibid., f. 92a.

VI. The Tārīkh i Muḥammadī:

1. The anecdote of Sebūtigīn's slavery of Naṣr t
Khārījite, a merchant of great wealth and opulence, t
 of Alp-tigīn, and his subsequent rise. Abū'l-Faḡl
 Bayhaqī is the source mentioned.^{1.} It resembles the
 account contained in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī,^{2.} and, with
 little variation, with that of the Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī.^{3.}
 In the Tārīkh i Abū'l-Khayr Khānī^{4.} the same anecdote o
 without any variation, a fact which proves that the
 author of this book was indebted either directly, or
 through the Tārīkh i Muḥammadī, to Abū'l-Faḡl, whom he
 calls Abū'l-Ḥasan Bayhaqī (for Abū'l-Faḡl Muḥammad ibn
 al-Ḥasan Bayhaqī).

2. Maḥmūd's preference of Muḥammad to Mas'ūd.^{5.} This
 appears exactly the same in the Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī.^{6.}

VII. The Zubdat al-Tawārīkh:

The ancestry of the Ghaznawids, on the authori
 of Muḥammad Ḥusain Bayhaqī (for Muḥ: ibn Ḥusain B.).
 Here the name of the father of Sebūktigīn is given
 Sarjūq, which means "one possessed of tents and canop

1. T. Muḥammadī, f. 193a.

2. T.M., p. 237.

3. T.N., p. 7.

4. Fol. 174a.

5. Fols. 199b-200a.

6. T.N., pp. 13-14.

("ṣaḥīb i Khīmāh-o Khargāh"), and that of his master Alptigin Qāpūchī.^{1.} In ^{the} Tabaqāt i Nāṣirī, which is older and evidently more reliable, the name of the father appears "Qarā Bahkam",^{2.} called Jūq, which is called Hūq by Raverty.

VIII. The Jāmi al-Tawārīkh (earlier part of Vol. I, or Tārīkh i Mubārak i Ghāzānī):

Mahmūd's death in 421 A.H. and his burial in Qasr i Pīrūsī.^{3.} Rashīd al-Dīn Faḡl Allāh appears to have been indebted to Abū'l Faḡl for this notice, as 'Utbī did not bring his narrative, so far as its extant portion is concerned, to the death of Mahmūd, and in Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, under the year 421 A.H., there is a letter of Hurrah Khatī,^{the} sister of Mahmūd, addressed to Mas'ūd, in which she informs him of his father's death on Thursday, the 22nd or 23rd of Rabī' II, and his burial at night-prayers in Bāgh i Pīrūsī, advising him to leave Sīpāhān and occupy the capital.^{4.} As it is evident from the method of treatment of Bayhaqī, the death of Mahmūd must have been recorded in full detail in his Tārīkh i Yamīnī to which a brief reference is given here.

1. Z.T., f. 113b. See this introduction, p. 21.

2. T.N., p. 6; Raverty, Vol. I, p. 68.

3. Jāmi', f. 296b.

4. T.N., p. 12.

Lost Volumes dealing with the Period after the Defeat of Mas'ūd by the Saljūqs, till his death, and the history of Maudūd, etc.

The Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī (Vol. IX) ends with a promise of the history of Khwārazm, Jibāl and Rayy, and the last days of Mas'ūd (from his preparations to go to Hindūstān, in despair and out of fear of the victorious Turkomans,^{1.} to his death. The history of Khwārazm down^{to} the insertion of Mas'ūd's name in Khutbah by Shāh Malik while Mas'ūd had already been killed in Qil'ah i Kīrī^{2.} is given in details in Vol. X, which ends with a promise of the details of the destruction of Shāh Malik by the Saljūqs for his loyalty to the House of Mahmūd, arrival of Maudūd in Shā'bān (432) in Dīnawar, his fight and capture of his uncle Muhammad together with his sons and partisans and their wholesale massacre, and the maltreatment and destruction of Shakar Khādim, Isā'īl and other Altūntāshīs^{3.} at the hands of the Saljūqs. But in the extant portion there is no chapter on Jibāl and Rayy, or on the last mentioned events. Besides these, there are quite a large number of persons and events to the detail of which references are made in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī; but, because internal evidence has no value

1. T.K., 832.

2. Ibid., 833.

3. Ibid., 867.

in this case, on account of the possibility of the work having not been continued, I would content myself here with external evidence, which may be summed up as follows:-

I. The ^{le}Tahqāt i Nāsiri:

In the beginning of the chapter on the House of Sebūktigin, after introductory digression, Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī is quoted as an authority on the ancestry of Sebūktigin,¹ as has already been mentioned while dealing with the last portion of Bayhaqī's work on the earlier history of the Ghaznawids; and though Abū'l-Faḡl is mentioned subsequently only in the beginning of the history of Sebūktigin and not in chapters on the successors of Mas'ūd, the events described later on, i.e., the accession of Maudūd and his vengeance² upon the murderers of his father Mas'ūd, the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and the accession to the throne of Tughril Turkoman and his murder, seem to have been borrowed, perhaps, from Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī, as, so far as our present knowledge goes, there is no earlier record of the Ghaznawids upon which Minhāj i Sirāj could have drawn for information, and, moreover, these

1. T.N., 6. *see also this introduction 1/6.*

2. Ibid., also T.N., pp. 122, 367, where promises are made to the details of the reign of Maudūd and further history of Tughril; see this Introduction, p.4

events are recorded in the *Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt* also on the authority of Abū'l-Faṣl (see the following).

II. The *Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt*:^{1.}

1. "The usurpation of *Tuḡhril*, the tyrannical regime of Bū Sahl Zūsani ending in the assassination of *Tuḡhril* at the hands of his Turkish guard, and the Coronation of Farrukh-sād in 444 A.H. = 1053 A.D. The *Tārīkh i Nāṣiri* is mentioned as the source."^{2.} This anecdote seems to have been borrowed from the last portion of the history of Bayhaqī, as, in the course of the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdi*, Abū'l-Faṣl briefly refers to the murder of *Tuḡhril*.^{3.}

2. "Tūmān, an upstart, gets into favour of Amīr 'Abd al-Rashīd of Ghaznah, and terrorises the people by espionage, and mismanagement in Parshawar (Peshāwar) upon which Khwājah Abū Tāhir Husayn ibn 'Alī is sent for investigation, and on his report to Shāhib i Diwān Risālat, Abū'l-Faṣl al-Bayhaqī (the historian), Tūmān

1. These two quotations from the later volumes of Bayhaqī's history contained in the *Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt* contradict the view of Barthold (*Encyclopedia of Islam* Vol. I, p. 592b), who did not have recourse to Aūfī's great work, that no quotations are known from the later volumes of Bayhaqī's history.

2. *Nigām*, p. 62; text B.M. MS. Or.2676, fol. 259b.

3. T.M., p. 861.

is temporarily dismissed, but again gets into power and dismisses Abū'l-Faḡl, spreads terror and ruins the state, finally the Amīr himself is murdered. The Tārīkh i Nāṣirī is mentioned as the source; this account appears to have been drawn from the latter volumes of al-Bayhaqī, as the historian himself promised, and probably this account brings the history down to the year 444 A.H.¹

There is another quotation from the last portion of Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī's history given with acknowledgements by 'Aufī in Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt,² but as it is an anecdote describing the joy of 'Uḡmān, the third orthodox Caliph, at the dispersion of a party of merry makers whom he wanted to punish in the interest of Muslim law, it cannot be decided with any precision from which part, i.e., the earlier or the later, it is taken.

1. Niḡām, pp. 62-3; text, B.M. MS. Or. 2676, fol. 262b.

2. Niḡām, p. 61 (No. 2); text B.M. MS. Or. 2676, fol. 124a.

Period dealt
with in the
Tārīkh i
Bayhaqī.

The discussion of the lost volumes of the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī brings us automatically to the whole period covered in this colossal history which may be divided into three parts, viz., (i) the extant portion; (ii) the lost portion dealing with the period prior to Mas'ūd; (iii) the lost part devoted to the history of the last days of Mas'ūd as well as his successors. Thus the period covered in the whole work can be summed up as follows:-

(a) In the
Extant
Volumes.

(i) From ZU'l-Hijjah, 421 A.H. (November, 1030) to the 15th of ^{1.} Shahān, 432 A.H. (21st April, 1041). This forms the bulk of Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī in which are included, besides the history of Mas'ūd proper and discursive and illustrative anecdotes about the Caliphs and earlier rulers of Persia:- (a) Mas'ūd's early career and nomination to the crown by Maḥmūd (pp. 123-56); (b) two dreams of Sebūktigin about his future greatness (pp. 235-40); and (c) a chapter on Khwarezm with its history and annexation with the kingdom of Maḥmūd, revolt of Hārūn, son of Altūntāsh Khwarezmshāh his death, and succession of his brother Ismā'il called Khandān with the help of Shakar Khādim, their defeat by Shāh Malik and insertion of Mas'ūd's name in the

1. ~~T.M., 102~~. See preface p. v. 16 T.M., 168

2. Ibid., 867.

Khutbah on the 15th of Sha'ban, 432 A.H., when Mas'ūd had already been murdered in Qil'ah Kiri (pp. 834-67).

(b) In Lost
Volumes:
Pre-Mas'ūdī
Period.

(11) From 409 A.H. = 1018-19) to 421 A.H. (1030).

There is a passage in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī which gives the year of its beginning. Speaking of the fort of Ghaznī which was built by 'Umar ibn Lays, ^{the} brother of Ya'qūb ibn Lays, the author says:-

"These events have been fully described by Ustād Maḥmūd Warrāq in his history of several thousand years,¹ which he completed in 450 A.H.² (1038-9) and brought down to the year 409 A.H. (1018-19) and stopped as I started from this 9 (i.e., 409)....."³

Indeed, it looks very queer to start ^{the} history of the Ghaznawids from 409 A.H.; but perhaps Abū'l-Faḍl wanted to make his history a continuation of al-Uṭbī's Tārīkh i Yamīnī,⁴ which brings the history of Maḥmūd to his

1. Bayhaqī, p. 262, says in round numbers that the history of Maḥmūd Warrāq covered several thousand years. As we know nothing else about this history, we might presume that it began from the earliest times to the year 409 A.H.

2. T.M., Tehrān, p. 262, reads 350 A.H., which is surely a clerical mistake, as Abū Ḥātim al-Warrāq, if we can identify him with Maḥmūd Warrāq, is mentioned by al-Ḥa'ṣībī (d. 1038 A.D.), IV, 379, to have been bookseller in Nishāpūr for fifty years among his contemporaries. For the meaning of Warrāq, see Dozy, Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, tome II, p. 979a.

3. T.M., 317.

4. Another reason for making the year 409 A.H. the starting-point of this history might be that the author joined the state service in that year; see T.M., p. 666, where under the year 429 A.H., he says that he has been in the state service in Ghaznī for more than twenty years.

invasion of India and Afghanistan^{1.} placed by Ibn al-Aṣīr^{2.} in 409 A.H., besides^{the} concluding chapters (a) on Qāṣī Abū 'Ulā Sa'id ibn Muḥammad and the Master Abū Bakr Muḥammad Maḥmashad,^{3.} and (b) on Naṣr ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn Sebūktigin.^{4.} This statement can be strengthened by the title of the lost portion of Abū'l-Faṣl's history dealing with Maḥmūd which he calls the Tārīkh i Yamīnī.^{5.} There are quotations from the history of Abū'l-Faṣl on Sebūktigin given in Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī and Jawami' al-Ḥikāyāt, and it might lead to hasty conclusions that Abū'l-Faṣl started his work with the history of Sebūktigin. Three main instances of this nature may be recorded here:

1. The ancestry of Sebūktigin.^{6.}
2. His early career, slavery, etc., till his accession to the throne of Ghasnīn in 366 A.H.^{7.} (976-7).
3. His dream on the eve of the birth of Maḥmūd.^{8.}

1. T.Y., Reynolds, p. 467.

2. Kāmil, Vol. IX, 116; also Ṣadafī, Vol. II, p. 8.

3. T.Y., Chap. LII, p. 471.

4. Ibid., Chap. LIII, p. 484.

5. T.M., pp. 26, 158.

6. T.M., 6.

7. Ibid., 7-8. See this introduction, pp. 46-47.

8. Nigām, 61 (No. 1).

But, as it is apparent from the discursive and illustrative method of Abū'l-Faṣl, these quotations might have been taken from the portion dealing with the history of Maḥmūd, as even the extant portion contains anecdotes on Sebūktigin and his son Maḥmūd.

There is another evidence to show that the history of Abū'l-Faṣl did not go beyond the year 409^{1.} A.H. The extant work covers a period of about eleven years (421 to 432 A.H. = 1030 - 1040-41) and includes a little more than five volumes (Vols. V/- IX, and parts of^{v4} X). Thus it is quite possible that the period of Maḥmūd's history (409-421 = 1018-1030) which covers about twelve years, might have been dealt with in the first four ~~extant~~ volumes, and it is quite improbable in view of the detailed method of Bayhaqī, that the first four ~~extant~~ volumes could have contained the history of a period exceeding twelve years. Thus we can safely reject the view expressed by Abū'l-Ḥasan Bayhaqī in the Tārīkh i Bayhaq, that the Tārīkh i Nāqirī (the title given by him to Bayhaqī's history) began from the early times of Sebūktigin,^{2.} because, though he had seen several volumes of this history in the Library of Sarakha, and/of Maḥd i Irāq in the Madrasah/

1. Barthold (Encyclopedia of Islām, I) holds the same view but does not give these details. p.593a

2. T.B., fol. 101b.

Nishāpūr and even in private possession, and described it in thirty volumes, he did not see all.^{1.} Abū'l-Ḥasan again, gives an extract from Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī on sixty-seven snowfalls in Nishāpūr in 400 A.H. (1009-1010) which were followed the following year by the famous famine which fell over Khurāsān and Irāq and in which 10,700 people perished. An Arabia verse is also quoted which was written to Abū'l-Faḡl by Sayyid Abū'l-Barakāt al-Alawī al-Jūrī on the snowfalls.^{2.} This event also might have been referred to in the Tārīkh i Yamīnī of Bayhaqī with ample details, and there is no lack of evidence in detailed references such as this in the existing portion of the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī. But it is equally possible that these quotations might have been taken from another work of Bayhaqī's, namely Zīnat al-Kuttāb, because Abū'l-Ḥasan does not specify the name of Abū'l-Faḡl's work when he quotes him.

Again, there is a passage in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī which, if read carefully, implies that Abū'l-Faḡl did not write the history of Sebūktigin which was written by other historians, but wrote the history of Maḥmūd till his death as related by other writers as well.^{3.} The passage in question is as follows:-

1. Khat. See this Introduction, p. 10.

2. Ibid., fol. 102a.

3. T.M., 103.

"و آن افاضل که تاریخ اسیر سبکتگین را رفته اند علیه سرانند
 از ابتدای کودکی وی تا آنگاه که بسیر سبکتگین افتاد و جانب
 بزرگ و سپاه سالار سامانیان و مملوهای درشت که بروی پشت
 تا آنگاه که درجه امارت فرزند یافت و دوران عمر گذشته شد
 و کار بامیر محمود رسید و چنانچه بنشیند و ندو منی نیز تا آخر عمرش بستم
 و آنچه بر ایشان بود که و منبر و آنچه مراد است داد و بمقدار
 در شرفش نیز گفتم تا بدین بادشاه بزرگ رسیدیم"

"And these veterans who wrote the history of
 Amir Adil Sebuktigin ... from the beginning of
 his childhood till his arrival in the house of
 Alp-tigin, the Chief Chamberlain and Commander-
 in-Chief of the Samanids, and his hardships
 until his kingdom of Ghazni and his death in
 that honour, when he was succeeded by Amir Mahmud
 as it has been related [by historians] and by
 myself till his (Mahmud's) death, and they have
 written whatever they knew, and I, too, did as
 far as my talents allowed until I reached this
 great King [Mas'ud]."

Now the whole thing depends upon the phrase "till his
 death", and, as I have translated, the personal pronoun
 "his" refers to Mahmud and not to Sebuktigin.

Period dealt
with in later
Volumes.

(iii) From the 16th of Sha bān, 432 A.H. (21st April, 1041), probably to 459 A.H. (Mawāḥiḥ, 1066-7). But unfortunately the last date is not quite satisfactory. In the course of ^{the} Tārīkh i Mas ūdī, Abū'l-^{1.} Faḡl once remarks:-

"Should the reader say why Abū'l-Faḡl was so diffusive, the answer would be that I was writing a history of fifty years and if I were to mention even my fellow-countrymen it would be a lengthy process...."

Now if the fact that Abū'l-Faḡl started his history from 409 A.H. (1018-19), be accepted, as has already been sufficiently established, the last date would be 459 A.H. (1066-67), and as he died in Ṣafar, 470 A.H. (August, 1077) it is not improbable that ^{he} brought his history down to 459 A.H. when Sulṭān Ibrāhīm the ^{2.} Ghaznawid, who ascended the throne in 451 A.H. (1059-^{3.} 60), on the death of Farrukh-^{4.} ḡd, was still alive. As for external evidence, Auḡī ^{5.} explicitly gives the anecdote of the murder of Abd al-Raḡhīd and other

1. T.N., 233.

2. T.N., p. 467; also Kāmil, X, 2.

3. T.N., p. 466; T.N., p. 19.

4. Ibrāhīm died in 472 A.H. (T.N., p. 21).

5. Niḡām, pp. 62-3. This introduction, p. 55.

circumstances prior to that on the authority of ^{the} Tārīkh
^{1a.} i Nāṣirī (i.e., the history of Abū'l-Faḡl), which
 brings the narrative down to 444 A.H. (1053) and not
 further. Though the author of the Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī
 mentions Abū'l-Faḡl Bayhaqī ^{as the authority} on the chapter of Sebūktigīn, still there is no evidence that he borrowed
 his account of all of the later Ghaznawids from Abū'l
^{2.} Faḡl as he mentions, on the ancestry of Sebūktigīn,
 another history also, written by Muḥammad Alī Abū'l-
 Qāsim Ḥammādī, and called the Tārīkh i Majdūl, a work
 of which we know nothing, and which is not mentioned
 even in the Kashf al-gunūn. Abū'l-Ḥasan Bayhaqī ^{3.}, the
 author of ^{the} so often quoted Tārīkh i Bayhaq, says that
 the Tārīkh i Nāṣirī (i.e., Tārīkh i Bayhaqī) began
 with the early days of Sebūktigīn and was brought
 down to the early days of Ibrāhīm; and if we believe
 the second part of his statement (though we have re-
 futed the first part of it), the assumption, strength-
 ened by the above internal evidence, that Abū'l-Faḡl
 Bayhaqī brought his history down to the year 459 A.H.
 (1066-67), would not be far-fetched, though we cannot
 determine the year with any scrupulous exactitude.

^{1a.} See this introduction, pp. 34, 55.
^{1b.} T.N., p. 6.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 6.

^{3.} T.B., fol. 101b.

The Causes
of the
Theory that
the Tārīkh
i Bayhaqī
began since
the begin-
ning of the
Dynasty.

However, the causes for the misunderstanding that the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī began since the beginning of the Dynasty are twofold; viz., (i) the digressions and anecdotes on the life of Sebūktigin in which the extant portion of Abū'l-Faḡl's history is so rich and in which the part dealing with the history of Maḥmūd might be still richer; (ii) the title "Tārīkh i Naṣīrī", which may mean the history of the house or descendants of Naṣīr al-Dīn Sebūktigin and not necessarily the history of Naṣīr al-Dīn himself and, as has already been mentioned in the course of this introduction¹, it is called the Tārīkh i Āl i Sebūktigin by Ḥājjī Khalfah,^{the} Jāmi i tārīkh i Āl i Sebūktigin by the author of the Mirqāt al-akhbār wa-mir'at al-adwār, and ^{the} Tārīkh i Āl i Maḥmūd ibn Sebūktigin by Mirkhwānd, while the part dealing with the history of Maḥmūd is called Tārīkh i Sultān Maḥmūd² by Ḥāfiḡ i Abrū.

Chronological
data in favour
of the limi-
tation of the
period covered
in the Tārīkh
i Bayhaqī.

Anyhow, if we examine the dates of the events described in detail in the last portion of the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī, we can succeed, to a certain

1. See this Introduction, pp. 33-5.

2. Barthold, Turkistān, p. 157; text, Cod. Bibl. Publ. Imp. Dorn 290, fol. 151.

extent, to limit the period covered in this stupendous history. These events may be divided into three categories; viz., (i) those relating to the period following the death of Mas'ūd, to which references are made by Abū'l-Faḡl himself in the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī* and which are found in later histories also; (ii) those dealing with the period prior to the accession of Mas'ūd to the throne and referred to in brief in the body of the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī* as having been fully given in the history of Maḥmūd; (iii) those concerning the pre-Mas'ūdīd period, which are quoted by other historians on the authority of Abū'l-Faḡl, and some of which are referred to in the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī*. The first of these may be summarily dismissed as it has already been shown¹ that the last event quoted by later historians on the authority of Abū'l-Faḡl took place in 444 A.H. (1053). In the second category, out of the events described in this introduction on pp.44-5, there is no reference in the existing histories on Maḥmūd to Nos. (a), (d) and (h).^{Let us take, for example, No. (d)} i.e., the revolt of Aryāruq, the Governor of Hindūstān during the reign of Maḥmūd and the failure to capture him in the reign of Muḥammad. Unfortunately there is no mention, in

1. See this Introduction, pp. 55, 63-4.

available material, of the appointment of the first Governor of Hindustān by Mahmūd. But as this event is not recorded in 'Uthī's Tārīkh i Yamīnī which is brought down to 409 or 410,^{1.} we might presume that this event took place after this year and justify the claim that the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī did not exceed the year 409 A.H. (1018-19), though the mere fact that it is not mentioned by 'Uthī does not warrant any such presumption because he does not give detailed accounts of events. No. (b), i.e., the insulting message of Ḥasanak Waṣīr to Mas'ūd, is also ignored by all the historians known to us, nor is the date of the beginning of the ministry of Ḥasanak known; and thus we are in utter darkness as to the actual year of this incident. About No.(c), i.e., the controversy of Mahmūd with the Caliph al-Qādir on account of Ḥasanak, we can make some safe remarks; because, as Abū'l-Faṣl Bayhaqī^{2.} tells us, it was in the year 414 A.H. (1023-4) that Mahmūd allowed Ḥasanak to go to the pilgrimage, and it was on his return from the pilgrimage, as related by Bayhaqī,^{3.} that the Caliph called him a Qirmatī and Mahmūd got offended: hence the impossibility of the occurrence of this event

1. Ibid., pp. 59, 72.

2. T.M., p. 246.

3. Ibid., p. 212.

before 409 A.H. With regard to No. (e), i.e., the accession, dethronement, and imprisonment of Muḥammad and the ^{1.}Commander-in-Chief of his uncle and father-in-law, Yūsuf, we can again say, on the authority of Bayhaqī himself, that it took place after the 23rd of Rabi' I, 421 A.H. (1st April, 1030), the date of the death of Maḥmūd who was succeeded by Muḥammad. Though there is no detailed account of No. (f), i.e., the meeting of Maḥmūd with Qadir Khān and the betrothal of his daughter Zaynab with Bughrā Khān,^{2.} ^{the}son of Qadir Khān, Firishta^{3.} places this meeting in the year 415 A.H. (1224-5), though he omits the betrothal. About No. (g), that is, the arrival of Bughrā Khān in Balkh in order to get reinforcements from Maḥmūd and capture Bukhārā, Samarqand, etc., Maḥmūd's promise of help after his return from Sōmnāt, the fulfilment of the promise after the return, and other details, we can arrive at an approximate date.^{3.} Ibn al-Aṣīr mentions the return of Maḥmūd from Sōmnāt in Ghaznī on 10th, Šafar 417 A.H. (1026-27); Firishta^{4.} also gives the same year, though he does not mention the actual date. From Bayhaqī we

1. Ibid., p. 12. The death of Maḥmūd is invariably placed, by all the writers, in this year, though the details might be omitted.

2. T.M., p. 54.

3. Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 129.

4. Firishta, p. 57.

learn only so much that the return from Sömnāt took place after the year 414 A.H., as, in the chapter on the Tabānis, he says that on his return from the pilgrimage in 414 A.H. (1023-4), Hasanak rewarded Imām Bū Ṣādiq Tabānī by the order of Maḥmūd, who, after his return from Sömnāt sent for him to Ghaznī from Nishāpūr where he had been taken by Hasanak to stay until the return of Maḥmūd from Sömnāt, and rewarded him immensely, fixed his salary and shortly afterwards appointed him the chief Qāṣī of Khatlān.^{1.}

These dates evidently prove that the events to which Bayhaqī refers as having been described in the history of Maḥmūd, relate to the period following the year 409 A.H., the date of the beginning of the Tārīkh i Bayhaqī, and not prior to that.

In the third category, i.e., quotations from Bayhaqī in later histories, the anecdotes on Sebūktigin and the ancestry of the Ghasnawids should not detain us too long as they might have been introduced by the author by way^{of}/digression, evident as it is from the discursive method of Bayhaqī. Nor should we repeat the events which have been examined in the second category. Nor should we, nor can we, analyse the events

1. T.M., pp. 246-8.

of which we do not know the dates. Among all the events which I have quoted previously and which have no reference in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, I have succeeded in tracing the date of one only, that is, the overt rebellion of Īlīk Khān in Khurāsān during Mahmūd's absence in Multān, and even that, unfortunately, does not help us very much, as it is placed by Ibn al-Aqīr and Firishtah in the year 396 A.H. (1005-6), while 'Utbi does not mention the year at all though he describes the event with details. But I think that this event was brought in by the author, in the history of Mahmūd just as a digression, because even in the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī there are certain events relating to Mahmūd, — such as his defeat of Bū 'Alī Sīmjur at the gate of Herāt on the 15th of Ramazān, 384 A.H. (24th October, 994) and the ultimate imprisonment of Bū 'Alī in Jumādā II, 385 A.H. (July, 995), his capture of Khurāsān on

1. See this Introduction, p. 48, (II, 2).

2. Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 70.

3. Firishtah, p. 44.

4. T.Y., Translation, pp. 330-9. Minhāj i Sirāj (T.H., pp. 8-11) omits this event altogether, while Hamd Allah Mustaufī (T.G., p. 396) dismisses it very briefly without any date.

5. T.H., p. 235; the same year in Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 38.

6. T.H., p. 244; the same year in Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 40.

the 25th or 26th, Jumādā I, 389 A.H. (15th or 16th^{1.} May, 999), and his conquest of Khwārazm^{2.} — which be-
long to a comparatively earlier period.

1. T.M., p. 806; Ibn al-Aṣir (Kāmil, Vol. IX, pp. 54-5) gives the same year.

2. Bayhaqī (T.M., pp. 834-47) does not mention the year of this conquest, but Ibn al-Aṣir (Kāmil, Vol. p. 98) places it in 407 A.H. (1016); Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī (T.G., pp. 399-400) mentions it, apparently wrongly, under the year 416 A.H.

Value of the Work.

Historical.

The Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī is the best and the most valuable contemporary record of the Ghaznawids, or at least, in its extant size, of Sultān Mas'ūd, and to some extent, of his father Maḥmūd and grandfather Sebūktigin. There are two other contemporary histories of the Ghaznawids, namely, a general history up to 409 A.H. by Maḥmūd Warrāq mentioned by Abū'l-Fazl Bayhaqī¹, and the Tārīkh i Majdūl mentioned by Minhā i Sirāj². But neither of these has come down to us, as they are not mentioned by Hājji Khalfah (d. 1038³ 1658), it is presumable that they were lost even before his time, or, at least, he did not know them. Utbī's Tārīkh i Yamīnī is the only extant contemporary record of a part of the Ghaznawid period, but it, too, is

1. T.M., p. 317; see this Introduction, p. 58.

2. T.N., 6.

3. Brocklemann, Vol. II, p. 428.

Its superiority to Utbī's history of Mahmūd.

Arrangement.

Sources:

1. Oral.

the history of Mahmūd down to the year 409 A.H. (1018-19) and mentions the death of Naṣr ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn Sebūktigin who died in 410 A.H. (1019-20). But even this earliest available record of the Ghaznawids cannot stand comparison with the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, and is very meagre in dates of events in which ^{the} Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī is so rich. Abū'l-Faṣl undertook to write a history of fifty years day by day, and in his extant volumes the events are recorded, first under each year and then ^{the} dates of all important, and even unimportant, events follow. As for later histories, which have already been quoted during this introduction, and which need not be repeated here, they are entirely based, so far as the Ghaznawid period is concerned, upon the history of Abū'l-Faṣl.

Its special value lies in citation of authorities, both oral and written, specially the former. As a Dabīr to Mahmūd¹, Deputy Secretary under Mas'ūd, and Maṣūd, and Chief Secretary under 'Abd al-Rashīd, he had easy and frequent access to the persons of his masters, and thus describes what he saw with his own eyes, and, failing that, he resorts to an eye-witness

1. See this Introduction, p. 5.

1.
and is always waiting for an opportunity to get in touch with a person who could give him the first-hand information about the subject. Thus, though he had heard about the nomination of Mas'ūd by Maḥmūd while in Nishāpūr, long before he joined the State Service, he wanted to verify his information through a person who could afford eye-witness; and it was in 450 A.H.^{2.} (1058-9), long after the author had begun his work and had retired from State Service, that Bū Sa d Abd al-Ḡaffār, whose grandfather and grandmother were in the service of Mas'ūd, Muḥammad and Yūsuf when they were left by Maḥmūd in Zamīn i Dēwar, and who himself was in the service of Mas'ūd since he was fourteen years old, handed to him the desired information from first-hand knowledge. The real story of the murder of Qa'id Manjūq,^{3. the} Commander of Khwārazm under Altūntāsh Khwārazmshāh, was reported to the author by 'Abd al-Samad Wazīr, who, at that time, was the Kadkhudāy of Altūntāsh and had devised the murder.

1. Ibid., 409.

2. Ibid., pp. 120-1.

3. Ibid., 409.

Other oral authorities of importance quoted by the author may be summed up in the following¹, though the list could not be comprehensive, as he quotes his authority on almost every event of whatever minor importance it might be:-

1. Khawājah Ahmad Hasan Maymandi, the Minister.
2. Khawājah Bū Naṣr Mushkīn, the patron of the author, and the Chief Secretary.
3. Khawājah Ahmad 'Abd al-Samad, the Minister of Mas 'ūd after Ahmad Hasan.
4. Aydarūs, Mas 'ūd's favourite in secret service.
5. Bū Naṣr Mustaufī.
6. Bū Muḥammad Mas'ūdī, Kadkhudāy of Altūntāsh Khawārazmshāh.
7. 'Abd Allāh, Kadkhudāy of Bek-tughdī, the Commander-in-Chief.
8. Bū 'l-Hasan Dilshād, Imām.
9. Ighāchi, the Khāṣṣah Khādim of Mas 'ūd.
10. Sattī (Sati) Zarrin, a singing girl favourite of Mas 'ūd.
11. 'Abd al-Rahmān Qawwāl, a minstrel of Amīr Muḥammad.
12. Bū Manṣūr Sa'ālībī, the author of the Yatīmat al-Dahr.

1. This list is not complete, but shows a tiny fragment of an immense number of persons.

2. Barthold (Encyclopedia of Islām, Vol. I, p. 592) wrongly says Mishkīn; see Sam ānī, f. 531b.

Written.

As Bayhaqī^{1.} himself informs us, he had studied lots of books specially on history, from which he made selections. This pretension may well be borne out by a large number of anecdotes relating to the Umayyids, 'Abbasides, Buwayhids and pre-Islamic Persia, in which Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī abounds. In the absence of a preface to this work, it would be in vain to look for any list of historical sources drawn upon by the author. The following list of names, which can pretend to be complete, has been taken from occasional references to such authorities, which do not include sources on Arabic history, as the anecdotes connected with it are given without acknowledgment of a proper source, with one exception^{only} which will be noted in the following:-

1. Ibn al-Muqaffa': History of the Kings of Ājam called Siyar Mulūk al-Ājam.^{2.} Bayhaqī calls it Akhbār i Mulūk al-Ājam.^{3.}
2. Bū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī.^{The} Chronology of ancient kings. Bayhaqī does not mention the title of the book.
3. Bū Mansūr al-Ālibī:^{The} Yatīmat al-Dahr fī-Majālis al-Asr.^{4.} This author is quoted as oral authority, see above No. 12.

1. T.N., pp. 22, 120.

2. Nicholson, p. 348.

3. T.N., p. 116.

4. Ibid., p. 837.

5. Ibid., p. 839. This book is generally known as Yatīmat al-Dahr, and the Damascus edition bears the title of Y-al-D. fī-shu'ara shi al-asr.

4. Mahmūd Warrāq: A History of several thousand years up to 409 A.H. (1018-19), completed in 450 A.H. 1. (1058-9).
5. Ṣūlī^{2.}: The Aurāq, a history of the 'Abbaside caliph full of autobiographical notices.
6. Bū Ishāq ṣābī: The Tāji, a history of the house Buwayh. 3.
7. Qāzī Abū'l-ULā Ṣā'id: Mukhtasar i ṣā'idī, a history of Muhammad and Mas'ūd. 4.
8. Tārīkh i Ru'asā: It is quoted as an authority on the anecdote of the victory of Ashnās call Afshīn over Bābak i Khurramī i Dīn, his arrival in the Court at Baghdād, al-Mu tas order to all the courtiers, including Hasan ibn Sahl, to walk on foot to escort him in cries of the chamberlain of Hasan for the insult of his master, and Hasan's reply that these kings made their officials great but were not respectful to them, and that their orders must be obeyed. 5. But whether it is name of a particular history of the Abbasid caliphs or not, is doubtful. Hājji Khalfah does not include any book of this name in the list of histories contained in his Lexicon. Mas'ūd^{6.} (d. 344-5 = 956), in his

1. Ibid., 317; see also this Introduction, p.

2. Ibid., p. 755; not mentioned in K.Z.

3. Ibid., p. 479; T.B., fol. 12a. It is the same Ṣābī whose writings (the titles of which are not mentioned) are recommended by the author of the Chahār Maqālah (p. 13) to the scribe as a model of style, whose full name, i.e., Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl i Harrānī al-Ṣābī is given by Mīrās Muḥammad Qaswīnī (p. 95). Ṣa'alifī (Y.D., Vol. II, pp. 23-96) devoted a long notice to his letters and verses, but does not mention his history, and places his death in 384 A.H. (994-5) at the age of 91 years. Hājji Khalfah does not mention him.

4. T.M., p. 232.

5. T.M., p. 157.

6. Murūj, pp. 248-9.

Murūj al-Zahab, gives a long notice under the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim, on the arrival and reception of Afshīn, the Khil'at and the hono given to Bābak and the mutilation of his hands and feet, and other details connected therewith; but there is no mention of walking of Hasan ibn Sahl, in the reception of Afshīn, and the cries of his chamberlain. Nor is there any mention in the Tārīkh al-Rusul wa l-Mulūk¹ of Tabarī, (223-311 A.H. = 838-923) of these details, which describes the arrival of Afshīn, and the murder of Bābak under the year 213 A.H. even with less details. Even among later historians such as Ibn al-Aṣīr² (d. 1234 A.D.) and Ibn al-Tiqṭāqā,³ who wrote the Kitāb al-Fakhrī in 1302 A.D., there is no reference to these details. The former describes the arrival of Afshīn in triumph and the murder of Bābak, under the year 213 A.H., of course, more briefly than either Tabarī or Mas'ūdī, without the slightest reference to the details given by Bayhaqī. Ibn al-Tiqṭāqā, gives a notice of the ministry of Hasan ibn Sahl, whose death he gives in 236 A.H. during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil but does not mention Afshīn or Bābak either here or elsewhere. In another work devoted to the lives of Ministers and Scribes by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī⁴ (d. 331/942), called Kitāb al-Wuzarā wa l-Kuttāb, there is no mention of this event, though the author speaks of Hasan ibn Sahl in different places. These evidences lead us to the conclusion that the Tārīkh i Ru'asā is one of those innumerable treasures of learning which have not come down to us.

1. Tabarī, 1229-34.

2. Kāmil, Vol. VI, p. 175.

3. Fakhrī, pp. 203-4.

4. Jahshiyārī, pp. 286, 356, 357, 377, 381, 382, 387, 392, 397, 398.

However, from the above lists of authorities, oral and written, it will be seen that the former include some of the state officials and private and confidential servants of the persons mentioned, and the latter consist of some of the important works which have been lost to us. But Abū'l-Faḡl employs oral or written sources only where his eye-witness fails. Thus of many of the events described by him he was an eye-witness, and, in this respect, resembles the author of the *Tārīkh i Jahān-gushā*, and ~~al-Bīrūnī~~ ~~the author of~~ the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, who draw most of their information from personal experience.

His Ideas
of a Good
History.

Bayhaqī himself gives his unique ideas about good history to which he conforms with scrupulous care.

"History may be divided in two forms, viz., oral and written. What is most essential is that the narrator ought to be trustworthy and right, and his narrative compatible with reason. ... Exactly is the case with a book — it must not be rejected by reason. Majority of people like fairy-tale...., while those who care for trustworthy records are very few.... I, who have undertaken this history, have been so particular as to record that either I am an eye-witness of, or what I heard from a reliable person. Long ago I had seen a book by Abū Rāyḥān[al-Bīrūnī], a unique man of letters, mathematician and philosopher of his day, who never wrote nonsense. The reason for this digression is to show how painstaking and scrupulous I have been."¹ (abridged)

1. T.M., 385-6. Elliot translates the whole passage Vol. II, pp. 55-6; see also this introduction p. 82

**Literary
Merits and
Defects.**

**Quotations
from Poets
and their
Importance.**

From purely literary point of view the *Tārīkh* i Mas'ūdī is a specimen of early prose of the fifth century of Hijrī when Arabic still held the position of literary language and Persian prose works were very few and unimportant. ~~This point will be further explained when criticising the style and grammatical peculiarities of the book.~~ *The events are generally illustrated with* ~~The events are generally~~ verses both Arabic and Persian, which especially the former, are very badly selected. The verses of Mutanabbī include some of those which are not commonly found in his *Diwān*, and even if read right do not display any great literary or poetical merit. Of Persian verses, excluding those of Unṣurī, which are not very many, the author generally draws upon Faqīh Bū Ḥanīfah Iskāfī, a friend of the author and not a very well-known poet. He quotes him mainly on two occasions, first on the death of Maḥmūd^{the}, accession and dethronement of Muḥammad and^{the} arrival and accession of Mas'ūd¹, and secondly on the defeat of Mas'ūd by the Turkomans in 432 A.H.², which broke his backbone and made him to fly to Hindūstān. These verses, as Bayhaqī^{himself} pays a tribute to the talents of Bū Ḥanīfah, who

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 335-45.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 797-801.

he requested on both the occasions to supply with the requisite Qaṣīdahs, are simple, original, and devoid of artificiality and far-fetchedness so characteristic of court-poets, and especially of panegyrists. There are two other Qaṣīdahs by him for which he was rewarded by Sultān Ibrāhīm¹. The importance of these verses lies in the fact that they came from the pen of one who, though quite original, simple and straightforward in style, is entirely ignored by later biographers, and, as Bayhaqī himself complains of^{the} lack of poets during these twenty years of the Ghaznawid period, they relate to a period when poetical talents had ceased to be appreciated in the way they had² formerly been by Maḥmūd, Shāhib i Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbās, the Samanid princes of Khurāsān and the Daylamit rulers of Jibāl. There are also preserved parts of two Qaṣīdahs of Rūdakī³, which are not mentioned by later Tagkira-writers, with the exception of Shibli Nu'mānī⁴, who does not mention his source, but it is certain that he did not borrow it either from 'Aufī's

1. T.M., pp. 770-77.

2. Ibid., p. 796. Bayhaqī also complains of^{the} niggardliness of Maṣ'ūd in rewarding poets in his later days (p. 147).

3. Ibid., pp. 52, 751.

4. Shi'r al-Ajam, Vol. I, pp. 32, 35.

Lubāb al-Albāb or Daulat Shāh's Memoirs, neither of which mentions this Qasīdah. Sir Denison Ross gives it in his scholarly article^{1.} on Rūdakī on the authority of Bayhaqī. ^{The} Chahār Maqālah, the earliest Memoir of Persian poets, mentions only the famous poem of Rūdakī which had the magical effect of driving Naṣr Aḥmad Sāmānīd back to Bukhārā from the enchanted atmosphere^{2.} of Herāt. Thus, in the light of our present knowledge, we may safely conclude that Bayhaqī is the first writer who mentions these poems.

Main Defects.

The main defects of the Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī are those of an unwieldy work in which no possible details or insignificant persons are omitted and events are generally illustrated with anecdotes and verses. The author himself was well aware of the unnecessary length into which his work was falling, but he could not help it for reasons given by himself:-

1. For mentioning insignificant persons:-

- (a) Their friendship with the author.^{3.}
- (b) To show the organisation of different services and civil and military administration.^{4.}

1. J.O.R.A.S., October, 1924, p. 640; here only the first Qasīdah is given.

2. Chahār Maqālah, pp. 31-33: "لوئے جوئے مولیان آیدھی"

3. T.N., p. 309.

4. Ibid., p. 296.

(c) To do justice to the officials and scribes of this house and come out of the obligation he owed them. ¹.

(d) He was writing a history of 50 years².
(409-459 A.H. = 1018-19 - 1030).

2. For anecdotes and digressions

(a) To justify Mas'ūd's actions (his capture of his uncle Yūsuf). ³.

(b) To illuminate the history. ⁴.

(c) To enable the reader to understand the secrets of court life and make his way through successfully. ⁵.

3. After the details of the fighting between 'Alī Tirkīn and Altūntāsh Khwārazmshāh and the death of the latter, Bayhaqī defends himself in the following way:-

"Though these stories are away from history, as in history they say that a certain King sent a certain commander to a certain battle, and they fought or brought about peace on a certain day, and this was defeated by that or that by this; yet I should describe what is appropriate and fits the occasion." ⁶.

The irrelevancy of all these points to history, except one {1(b)} is obvious, and a critical, unbiased history cannot afford to be full of eulogies of the hero, excuses for his weaknesses, and justification

1. Ibid., pp. 296, 609.

2. Ibid., p. 233.

3. Ibid., p. 300.

4. Ibid., pp. 36, 158, 198.

5. Ibid., p. 36.

6. Ibid., p. 438.

for his actions, detailed accounts of author's friend and unnecessary and cumbersome details of events. But it is in some of these defects that the merit of ^{the} ~~Tarikh~~ i Mas'ūd lies. While it does not explicitly mention Mas'ūd as a drunkard, pleasure-loving, obstinate, self-willed and prone to listen to back-biters, his drinking parties, the gallery of naked pictures on the wall of his private chamber in Balkh, allowance of people like Bū Sahl Zūzani to ruin state officials such as Ḥasanak, Aryāruq and Āsaf-tigin al-Ghāzi, his deaf ear to the advice of Minister and Generals in case of ~~the~~ Turkomans and other enemies of the House of Ghaznah, and about the preservation of state officials, his fear of the Turkomans which put him to flight to Hindūstān in spite of his nobles — all these weak points in his character are described in full details, though every time the author could not help praising him out of fear of the successors of Mas'ūd, under whom he lived. The vindictive nature of Ahmad Hasan Maymand as shown by his treatment of Abū'l-Fath Bustī and Bu Bakr Ḥusayrī and his son Bū'l-Qāsim Ḥusayrī; the heartless, cruel temper of Bū Sahl Zūzani, who not only brought about the destruction of some of the most

powerful men of Maḥmūd's time, such as Aryāruq and Ghāzī, but made merry when the head of Amīr Ḥasan, called Ḥasanak Wazīr, the minister to Maḥmūd, was brought in a plate before him; the character of Tuḡhrīl the Turkoman, who, prior to his triumph over the forces of Mas ūd in 432 A.H., out of fear, did not take his shoes off and rest his head on pillow; the citation, in full, of state documents, such as Mas ūd's letter to Altūntāsh Khawārazmshāh, to the caliph and ^{his} pact and agreement with him, ^{and} to Qadir Khān the ruler of Turkistān; the description of various robes of honour granted to different officials; the ceremonies connected with the reception of the caliph's envoy, the execution of pact and signature of all the nobles on it; the capture of Aryāruq and Ghāzī; the order of precedence of nobles in the court and royal parties; the tactics of fighting, ambush and siege; the armaments of war, and the methods of collecting them; trooping the colours; and, the most important of all, the organisation of various departments of government, such as Civil Secretariat, Military Accounts, Audit, Postal, Secret, and Scouts' Services — all these place ^{the} Ḥarīk i Mas ūd i in the rank of

first-class history, in which, though the method of treatment might not be scientific, is contained a large store of information which alone can justify its stupendous magnitude.

CHAPTER II.

LIST OF CHAPTERS.

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LIST OF CHAPTERS.

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